

**'If we did it, we'd do it openly'**  
**Egyptians disclaim meeting with Syria**

**Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies**  
**CAIRO.** — Egypt yesterday denied published reports that its defence minister, Field Marshal Abdel Halim Abu-Ghazala, made a secret trip recently to Syria.  
The official Middle East News Agency quoted a "responsible source" Sunday night as saying "If Egypt wants to send its defence minister to any place then this will be done openly because it does not fear anyone or anything when it wishes to do such a thing."  
Mena said the statement was issued following remarks by Defence Minister Moshe Arens that Israel would try to verify the report of the secret visit.  
Last Friday the Kuwaiti newspaper al-Qabas said Abu-Ghazala visited Syria secretly and expressed support for the Syrian government, whose troops face the Israelis along a confrontation line in the Bekaa Valley of eastern Lebanon.  
Meanwhile, Arens said in Tel Aviv on Sunday that he could not yet confirm reports of the secret visit.  
Arens said during an interview on Galei Zahal that it was "a little disturbing" if there had indeed been a meeting between the Egyptian defence minister and Syrian leaders "when Egypt says it is at peace with us and Syria says it is at war with us."  
Arens declined to answer directly a question about whether he en-



An IDF woman soldier and two Border Policemen patrol Jerusalem's Ben Yehuda pedestrian mall on Sunday. (Scoop 20)

**Israel-Syria contacts over PoW exchange**

**Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies**  
Defence Minister Moshe Arens said Sunday that Israel is in contact with Syria through the International Red Cross to try to reach a prisoner-of-war exchange.  
"We have the beginning of contacts to reach a prisoner exchange, and we hope we will be able to finalize this...We have the impression that there is a general readiness on their side for a prisoner exchange," Arens said in an interview on the army radio station.  
Arens said questions remain about which Israeli POWs would be included in exchange and whether the IDF soldiers held by Syrian-aligned factions of the PLO would be included.  
Three IDF soldiers captured after the war in Lebanon are held by Syria, and four others are held by PLO factions, led by Ahmed Jibril and Nayef Hawarmeh. Six other Israelis are believed missing. Israel holds 290 Syrians captured during the war, and about 2,700 other Arabs convicted of terror actions and security offences.  
Arens warned Syria that Israel would win any clash between the two countries if fighting were to break out now.  
While disavowing any Israeli intention to initiate fighting, he said Israel was prepared for the possibility that internal tensions in Syria could tempt Damascus to attack Israeli forces in Lebanon or on the Golan Heights.  
Arens said he did not know what the Soviet undertaking to defend Syria in case of an Israeli invasion amounted to. But he said "their policy is careful...and I imagine that the undertaking given to Syria is relatively limited."  
Arens also restated his position that it would be beneficial if a buffer zone were created between Israeli and Syrian forces in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

**IDF reviewing bus hijack rescue operation**

**WASHINGTON.** — Defence Minister Moshe Arens said Sunday Israel was running a general check on the IDF operation in the recent bus hijacking. He was answering questions as to how the four terrorists died in the rescue operation.  
TV's *This Week* programme, Arens said Israel is investigating the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the four terrorists.  
"I read these allegations," he said when asked about the reports. "My guess is that they are not coming from people who are friends of Israel."  
Arens said he had "no reason to give credence to these allegations." But he added: "We are running a check on the entire operation, as we always do when we have such."  
(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

**More Beirut fighting; buffer-force man killed**

**BEIRUT.** — One member of the newly installed Beirut buffer force was killed and two gendarmes were wounded by sniper fire yesterday near the museum crossing-point between Christian East Beirut and the mainly Moslem west.  
The casualties were the first among the 1,800-strong neutral force of Lebanese gendarmes which began deploying along the front lines in and around Beirut on Friday.  
A spokesman for the force said the three men, army conscripts recently transferred to the Internal Security Forces (ISF), were hit by sniper fire from the east side of the museum crossing, the only passage across the divided city.  
ISF units have deployed along almost all of the line from Beirut port in the north to the Aley Mountains in the southeast, separating Druse and Shi'ite Moslem forces in the west from the army and the Christian "Lebanese Forces" militia in the east.  
Rival militiamen also exchanged rocket-propelled grenades and sniper fire yesterday as a four-party committee met to resolve disputes delaying completion of a military disengagement plan in Beirut and the embattled central mountains.  
President Amin Jemayel meanwhile continued his consultations with various political leaders for the formation of a national unity government, agreed upon during summit talks last week in Damascus with Syrian president Hafez Assad, who has been the main backer of the Lebanese opposition.  
Sources close to the Lebanese president said Jemayel is planning a visit to Saudi Arabia within 48 hours for summit talks with Fahd on the progress of the peace process.  
(Reuters, AP)

**Tias predicts war soon**

**DAMASCUS (Reuters).** — Syrian Defence Minister Mustafa Tias said yesterday the Middle East is on the verge of exploding, because Israel and the U.S. are preparing to attack his country.  
In a speech at a Syrian Navy base broadcast by Damascus Radio, Tias said Syria could repel the expected attack with help from other Arab states and the Soviet Union, Syria's main backer.  
Defence Minister Moshe Arens yesterday denied Israel has any intention of attacking Syria. He said there is no truth in reports that Israel is reinforcing its forces on the front facing Syrian troops in Lebanon's eastern Bekaa Valley.

**Bomb lightly injures two near Kalkilya**

**TEL AVIV.** — Two people were slightly injured yesterday when a bomb went off at the Hirbet Sufin memorial near Kalkilya.  
The blast occurred at noon when four hikers arrived at the site. The explosive, packed in an old Russian 82 mm mortar shell, was set off from afar by means of a wire.  
The injured were taken to the Meir Hospital in Kfar Sava.



A competitor climbs a wave in the Israeli surfing championships near the Tel Aviv Marina yesterday. (Story page 6). (IPPA)

**Four killed, 14 injured in two-day period on highways**

Four people were killed and 14 hurt in road accidents around the country yesterday and Sunday.  
One man was killed, three people were seriously injured and one was slightly hurt when a car in which they were travelling overturned north of Eilat last night. The dead man was identified as Yomtov Aboulafia, 24, of Yehud.  
In another accident near Eilat, involving two cars and a truck, three people were injured, one of them seriously.  
Also yesterday, three children were killed in road accidents in Tulkarm and Nablus. Subhi Da'ana, 4, was run over and killed by a truck in Tulkarm, and Muhammed Halas, 5, was run over and killed by a car in the same town. In Nablus, 4-year-old Sami Mansour died under the wheels of a car.  
Four people were hurt in the Samaria village of Badada when a local youth who was not licensed to drive lost control of a car and struck a parked pick-up truck, causing the truck to hit the four.  
Limor Ozri, 5, of Petah Tikva was seriously hurt when hit by a car in Kalkilya, where her mother had gone to shop.  
In Netanya, a woman soldier was seriously hurt when the car in which she was a passenger overturned. The driver was slightly hurt.  
In Petah Tikva, 14-year-old Pnina Bergin was seriously hurt early Sunday morning in a hit-and-run accident. Police are searching for the driver.  
On Sunday, the magistrate's court in Haifa ordered two brothers held on suspicion that they were involved in an accident last Friday in which five children in the village of Nahf near Acre were hit by a pick-up truck. Mahmoud Nasser, 30, and Ali Nasser, 28, were ordered held for investigation for seven and four days respectively.  
In Netanya, Eli Garshi, 32, was sentenced on Friday to two months in jail and ordered to pay a fine of IS30,000 after being found guilty of driving with a suspended licence. (Itim)

**Lahad looks ahead to IDF withdrawal**  
**SLA commander hopeful men will fill 'vacuum'**

**MARJAYOUN, Lebanon (AP).** — Maj. Gen. Antoine Lahad, commander of the South Lebanon Army, says Israel will have "no excuse" to remain in southern Lebanon if his militia can provide security for Israel's northern border.  
In an interview, Lahad, 54, said his 2,000-man militia — equipped and financed by Israel — was prepared to fill the vacuum when Israel withdraws its 15,000-man army from the South.  
Doubts have been expressed in Israel and by military observers in Lebanon about Lahad's ability to halt Palestinian terrorist infiltrations from Lebanon to Israel in the event of an Israeli withdrawal.  
"Wherever Israelis are present now, we will take their place," Lahad said. "No one else is there to fill the vacuum."  
He added that "if the Israelis want security on their northern border, and if we can give it to them, then there is no excuse for Israel to stay."  
The militia commander insisted that he opposes Syria's presence in Lebanon "in the same way I am now against the Israelis remaining here on Lebanese territory." The Syrians have a 30,000-man force in the east and north of the country.  
Lahad, whose black hair is streaked with silver, often paused to think before answering questions during an interview in his office at a converted Lebanese army barracks.  
A former Lebanese army officer, Lahad was dressed in the uniform of the Lebanese Army. On his desk was a Lebanese Army flag and a framed, colour portrait of the late Maj. Sa'ad Haddad in blue dress uniform.  
Lahad, a Maronite Christian from the Shouf Mountain town of Kafir Kutra in central Lebanon, took  
(Continued on Page 3)

**After London embassy shooting**  
**Libyans sent packing, must leave by Sunday**

**LONDON.** — British and Libyan diplomats prepared to leave each other's capitals yesterday amid frustration here that Britain's severing of diplomatic ties likely means freedom for the gunman who triggered the seven-day siege of Libya's embassy.  
But there was also reluctant acceptance among Britons of the Conservative government's argument that the embassy was inviolate under diplomatic conventions and because prolonged siege risked the safety of the 8,000 Britons in Libya.  
Britain broke diplomatic ties with Libya on Sunday night and gave the 30-30 diplomats and students holed up in the embassy seven days to leave the country.  
The move came six days after shots from an embassy window during a demonstration by exiles opposed to Libyan leader Col. Muammar Gaddafi killed a policeman and wounded 11 Libyan protesters.  
Britain asked Italy to look after its interests in Libya following its decision to break relations.  
Reached by telephone from Rome at his home in Tripoli, Ambassador Alessandro Quaroni said Italy agreed to do so, but that Libya must still give its official agreement.  
Britain yesterday deported a Libyan student arrested on Saturday during inquiries into the shooting incident, which sparked off the siege. Police named him as Saleh Ibrahim Mabruk, 26, and said he was flown to Libya from London's Heathrow Airport.  
Mabruk's presence "was not conducive to the public good," a police spokesman told reporters, refusing to elaborate. He said Mabruk had been in Britain since 1982 on a visa to study English.  
Britain's domestic news agency, Press Association, quoting what it termed an official source, said Mabruk belonged to a "revolutionary committee" involved in "covert activity" in Britain.  
The expulsion came as British and Libyan diplomats prepared to leave each other's capital by next weekend under a Sunday midnight deadline set by the British government.  
When Britain broke diplomatic ties Sunday night, Home Secretary Leon Brittan announced a virtual clampdown on the entry of Libyans and said he would not hesitate to expel undesirable Libyan nationals.  
There was no clear word from Tripoli on whether the occupants of the London embassy would leave peacefully by the deadline.  
A man who answered the phone in the building in St. James' Square told Press Association, "We will go"  
(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

**Libya said annexing northern Chad**

**N'DJAMENA, Chad.** — Libya has annexed the desert northern third of this former French colony, dropping all pretence of simply supporting rebels based in the sparsely populated region, western diplomats say.  
The diplomats' assertions were confirmed in part Sunday by Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi who called war-torn Chad "an extension" of Libya and warned of continued conflicts unless French troops are withdrawn from the North African nation.  
"Chad is an extension of us and we are an extension of Chad," Gaddafi told a news conference in Tripoli. "France has no right to intervene on our borders in an African country which concerns us as Africans and as Libyans."  
A senior western diplomat, who declined to be further identified, said there was no indication France or Libya intends to disturb the effective partition of Chad. He said Libyan-style people's committees have been set up in northern Chad and "they are well on their way to making it Libya South."  
A French diplomat said, "We have no intention of going north at this stage. The solution is political, not military."  
Western diplomats say there are 6,000 to 7,000 Libyan troops below the Aozou Strip in Northern Chad, a mineral rich area occupied by Libya in 1973 which served as the dividing line until the recent conflict.  
In Paris, French officials yesterday played down Gaddafi's statement.  
"France respects the sovereignty and independence of all countries within their internationally recognized frontiers," one official said in commenting on Gaddafi's remarks.  
Officials said the Organization of African Unity recognized Chad's borders as unchanged since independence in 1960. (AP, Reuters)

**Angola rebels claim 200 die in car bombing**

**LISBON (Reuters).** — More than 200 people, mostly Cuban and Soviet advisers and their families, were killed in a car-bomb attack on their hotel in Angola, a spokesman for the Unita guerrilla organization said here yesterday.  
Angola government sources last night said 34 civilians, most of them Cuban, had died in the bombing.  
The guerrillas said a jeep loaded with 350kg. of explosives was detonated beside the building in Huambo, Central Angola, with the help of dissatisfied Angolan army officers concerned about the presence of Cuban troops and Soviet involvement in the country.  
The insurgent spokesman said the building was destroyed. Known as the Corte Real, it was used to house foreigners.  
He said 67 Cuban officers and two high-ranking Soviet officers died in the attack.  
Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) has been fighting to overthrow Angola's Soviet-backed Marxist government since independence from Portugal in 1975. It claims control of large parts of the Angolan hinterland.  
In Paris, the Unita representative said the bombing marked the beginning of an urban-guerrilla campaign in Angola's major towns.  
"As long as the Cubans and Soviets remain in Angola and Unita is not a participant in negotiations toward a settlement of the situation in southern Africa, there will be no peace in this region," he said.

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	23.4.1984	MIN	MAX	
AMSTERDAM	0	12	18	Clear
BRUSSELS	1	15	21	Clear
BUEENOS AIRES	9	18	24	Cloudy
CHICAGO	6	13	22	Rain
COPENHAGEN	7	15	20	Clear
FRANKFURT	11	24	25	Clear
GENEVA	5	11	23	Clear
Helsinki	3	7	15	Clear
HONG KONG	10	16	23	Clear
JERUSALEM	14	20	26	Clear
LONDON	14	21	27	Cloudy
MADRID	6	18	21	Clear
MINTHAF	4	10	20	Clear
NEW YORK	2	14	20	Cloudy
OSLO	2	14	20	Cloudy
PARIS	12	18	24	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	19	26	30	Clear
SAO PAULO	17	23	29	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	4	10	17	Clear
TOKYO	8	16	24	Clear
TORONTO	4	10	17	Clear
VILNIA	7	15	21	Clear
ZURICH	2	10	18	Clear

\* For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair

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## THE WEATHER

No information was available from the Meteorological Institute last night.

## Marcel Janco funeral today in Tel Aviv

TEL AVIV. — The funeral of artist Marcel Janco, who died here on Saturday night at 89, will take place today.

His coffin will lie in the Tel Aviv museum where the public can pay their respects between 10 a.m. and noon.

The funeral procession will depart at 12:30 p.m. for the Kiryat Shaul cemetery. Buses will be provided.

## Man convicted of murdering Jaffa merchant

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Shimon Ibigi, 27, of Rishon LeZion was convicted on Sunday of the murder last month of Jaffa flea-market merchant Victor Ben-David, 48.

The Tel Aviv District Court found Ibigi guilty of going to Ben-David's shop on March 1, and demanding money, and shooting the merchant to death when he refused.

## Haim Zadok to attend Socialist International

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
TEL AVIV. — Former Justice Minister Haim Zadok will represent the Labour Party at a meeting of the Socialist International bureau tomorrow in Copenhagen. He will stand in for party chairman Shimon Peres, who is unable to attend due to previous engagements.

The main topic on the agenda is the situation in South Africa. Sales arms to Saudi Arabia will also be raised, a Labour Party spokesman said here yesterday.

## Egypt says Soviet ties likely to be restored

CAIRO (Reuters). — Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali said on Thursday that Egypt and the Soviet Union are likely to restore full diplomatic ties, the official Middle East News Agency reported.

"The principle of exchanging ambassadors is agreed on. It is likely that ambassadors may be exchanged in the future without it affecting Egypt's special relations with Washington," Ali was quoted as saying at a news conference in Khartoum at the end of a two-day official visit to Sudan.

## Sadat supporters out of Egyptian elections

CAIRO (AFP). — Mustafa Khalil and a number of other former supporters of the late president Anwar Sadat will not run as candidates of the ruling National Democratic Party in next month's elections, it was announced yesterday.

Khalil, 64, was Egyptian prime minister and foreign minister in 1978-79 and participated in the negotiations for the peace agreement signed in March 1979. As vice-president of the NDP, he maintained many contacts with the Israeli Labour Party.

## The Nathan and Sarah Koenig Memorial Lectures

Rabbi Yehuda Halevi on Prophecy

Lecturer: Rabbi Dr. Samson R. Weiss  
Thursdays, April 26 and May 3, 7.15 p.m.  
at the Orthodox Union/NGSY ISRAEL CENTER  
10 Straus St., Jerusalem. Tel. 02-246206/7

## TOMORROW NIGHT — HAGA (Civil Defence) Exercise in Ben Gurion Airport Area

The night between Wednesday and Thursday (April 25-26), there will be a HAGA exercise in the Ben Gurion Airport area. During the exercise, the sound of firing and explosions will be heard, and the sirens will sound the all clear. In the event of a real attack, the sirens will sound a rising and falling note.

# HOME AND WORLD NEWS

## Free-trade zone accord still faces hurdles

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The main stumbling block in the U.S.-Israeli negotiations on establishing a free-trade zone between the two countries is Israel's refusal to abolish its heavy government subsidies to promote export industries, U.S. and Israeli officials agreed yesterday.

But both sides expressed confidence that they would soon be able to reach a compromise on this problem.

The next round of negotiations is to begin May 15 in Jerusalem.

Newsweek magazine, in its latest issue, quotes U.S. sources as predicting that the two countries "may be less than a month away from signing a treaty — which would enable Ronald Reagan to send it to Congress for ratification before the fall election."

Both U.S. and Israeli officials dismissed the one-month assessment, citing substantive and procedural problems.

But they said a treaty may be ready by the fall.

Firstly, the officials said, the U.S. government's International Trade Commission is not slated to complete its own investigation into the

matter — as required by law — before June.

Secondly, they said, Congress must still pass legislation formally authorizing the Reagan administration to enter into a trade agreement with Israel.

Such legislation could take a few months in view of opposition from some U.S. agricultural and manufacturing trade groups.

For example, the brine industry and tomato growers, fearing Israeli competition, have sought exclusions from the trade agreement. Along with other farm and industrial groups, they are lobbying congress-

men and senators for exclusion from the accord.

In its report, Newsweek said that another problem concerns how rapidly Israeli industry and agriculture should be exposed to U.S. competition under the accord.

"While the U.S. realizes that the size and competitiveness of its markets will help America to become duty-free more easily and quickly than Israeli markets," the report said, "it wants to hold any time lag to a year or less. But Israel is shooting for at least two years to give its business and agriculture time to adjust."

## Treasury urges central bank to refund commercial banks

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

The Treasury will today try to convince the Bank of Israel to return some \$40 to \$50 million to the commercial banks to prevent their having to report major losses in their balance sheets, due to be published by the end of April.

Until now, the Treasury has refused to give in to the banks' demand that it reimburse them their advances on corporate taxes. The banks have been seeking this due to last year's losses.

Officially, the ministry claims there is a legal problem since, by law, a tax refund is possible only after a balance sheet is published. Instead, the Treasury has requested that the Bank of Israel return to the

commercial banks last year's penalties for exceeding margins of permitted lending.

Unofficially, the Treasury has made it clear that it would be much more interested in helping the commercial banks if they would show willingness to pay interest on positive balances in current accounts.

A special panel from the Knesset Finance Committee demanded on Sunday that the commercial banks establish such interest payments.

Appearing before the subcommittee, commercial bank representatives said that such interest payments would be possible only after the Bank of Israel lowered the liquidity ratio on current accounts and their profitability was insured.

## 10 ultra-Orthodox youths arrested for threats

A group of ultra-Orthodox youths last night blocked Jerusalem's Rehov Mea She'arim and "Sabbath Square," to protest against the arrest earlier in the evening of 10 of their friends who had tried to prevent the opening of several downtown businesses and restaurants.

Those arrested had allegedly threatened businessmen for apparently preparing to open their es-

tablishments before sundown, when it was still Pessah.

The police were called to Jaffa Road and Rehov Ben-Yehuda by the besieged businessmen, whose display windows and doors were being pummelled by the ultra-Orthodox youths. Ten youths were arrested and escorted to the Russian Compound lockup. (Itim)

## ARENS

(Continued from Page One)  
operations, from the beginning to the end. When we will have completed that check, we will know with 100 per cent certainty exactly what happened in every phase of the operation."

Israel TV last night reported that the IDF has not set up a committee of inquiry regarding the fate of the two terrorists. The IDF is "merely carrying out a routine review of the operation," the report stated.

In an interview on Army Radio yesterday, Arens said those in charge of the operation had briefed him thoroughly. "I have no reason to doubt the validity or exactness of these reports," he said.

Asked on This Week whether Israel captures terrorists or kills them, Arens replied: "We have captured many terrorists. We have also killed terrorists. When we capture a terrorist alive, the next step is jail and going on trial."

"What I had said is that we will not give safe conduct to terrorists who take hostages — to leave Israel with these hostages — or to leave Israel under conditions that they put forth when they held the hostages."

That question was prompted by a comment Arens made on Israel

Television soon after the hijacking. "Whoever plans terrorist acts in Israel must know that he won't get out alive," Arens had said.

The Washington Post yesterday reported that Arens had told an Israeli Radio interviewer immediately following the rescue mission that "two terrorists have been killed." But that comment was "corrected" by military authorities.

The New York Times has reported that an Israeli photographer, Alex Levac of Hadashot, was denied permission by the censor to publish a photo taken at the scene of the rescue operation showing security personnel leading a handcuffed man — presumably one of the terrorists — away from the bus.

The newspaper also said that other news stories in the Israeli media about the incident have been killed by the censor.

"Despite the importance of the event," the Times said in a report from Jerusalem, "military censorship inside Israel has been so tight that the debate here has been muffled. Israeli papers have not been permitted to publish any photographs or news articles of their own, only reports of articles that have appeared in foreign newspapers."

## EGYPT DENIES

(Continued from Page One)  
visaged Egypt giving Syria direct assistance if war broke out between Syria and Israel during the next year or two. But he said that "If, God forbid, there is a war on the northern front, I'd say... it was not impossible, and in building up the army we also take into account the worst possibilities."

Arens has frequently warned about the risks to Israel of Egypt's rearming with sophisticated U.S.-supplied weapons, and about what he describes as the rebuilding of Egypt's military infrastructure in Sinai, which Israel returned to Egypt as one of the terms of the 1979 peace treaty.

The Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem said yesterday that despite the absence of Consul Hassan Issa, the Egyptian consulate in Eilat is functioning normally. According to Itim, the consul, who was recently recalled to Cairo, is expected to resume his duties in Eilat in two weeks.

Also in Eilat, nine Israeli yachtsmen who went off course and were arrested by Egyptian

authorities south of Taba were released yesterday after paying a fine of 50 Egyptian pounds (about \$62) each.

In Cairo, a Foreign Ministry spokesman yesterday rejected the Israeli condemnation of Egypt's severance of relations with El Salvador and Costa Rica, after those countries announced the return of their embassies from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The spokesman said that the status of Jerusalem is still to be decided as part of negotiations on the areas occupied by Israel in 1967.

The Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem on Sunday protested angrily to Egypt over its break in diplomatic relations with the two countries.

In Dacca, the Bangladeshi government announced yesterday that it was cutting ties with Costa Rica over the moving of its embassy (Bangladesh has no relations with El Salvador). A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the decision was made in accordance with a recommendation of the Islamic conference on Jerusalem recently held in Morocco.

Costa Rica's embassy in Israel will remain in Jerusalem, despite a call by the Islamic conference to break relations with this Central American country. Foreign Minister Carlos Jose Gutierrez said in San Jose on Sunday.

Gutierrez said Costa Rica's embassy is in Jerusalem because the Israeli government declared the city its capital.

Salvadoran guerrillas have said they hope for increased support from Arab states as a result of El Salvador's decision to move its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

A spokesman for the Central American Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRTC) said that increased Arab aid to the guerrillas "makes sense and is probable." The comment was made in an interview in El Salvador's Usulután province.

## Treasury surprised by idea of new ministry for taxes

Post Economic Reporter

Treasury officials were astonished on Sunday after Deputy Finance Minister Haim Kaufman, in a radio interview, proposed the creation of a ministry that would deal with taxes.

Kaufman said that the tax system is not working and that a ministry to design a new system is necessary. He hinted that such a ministry could replace the Economic Ministry.

Reacting to this, Treasury officials said that Kaufman had not shown his plan to any ministry official, and that Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad had learned about it from the radio.

The officials hinted that Kaufman's "plan" was linked to the election campaign. "Those who have no achievements in the past must make some promises for the future," one official said.

## 2 missing swimmers' bodies identified

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The bodies of two swimmers who were swept out to sea near Haifa and Ashdod have been identified by their families, the police announced yesterday.

Yesterday afternoon, passersby found the body of Ali Hamdan, 34, from a village near Jerusalem, washed up on the shore south of Haifa's Carmel Beach. He had been missing since last Thursday.

On Saturday the body of Hanoch Cohen, 25, of Yavne, was washed ashore at Palmachim north of Ashdod. Cohen drowned off Ashdod's Lido Beach nearly two weeks ago, when he was swept to sea while trying to rescue another swimmer.

Cohen's body was spotted Saturday afternoon by the pilot of an IDF beach patrol plane, who radioed the police.

## LIBYANS

(Continued from Page One)  
on the last day, on the Sunday, in the afternoon." He declined to be identified.

Libyan Radio said the embassy staff had cabled Gaddafi pledging "to defend our principles and aims... or die in the process."

British Ambassador Oliver Miles yesterday allowed television cameras into his Tripoli residence to film his family packing his bags. "It's very sad," said Miles. "It's my first job as ambassador. I've been here three months and didn't think it would end up like this."

Earlier, Libya's Foreign Ministry expressed "astonishment and displeasure" at Britain's move.

Its state-controlled radio said Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was under "cowboy (U.S. President) Reagan's counsel and orders... since women do not do anything without consulting their husbands."

The British government was braced for possible reprisals, after Libyan Radio yesterday broadcast an editorial warning that Libya would strike "painful blows" against Britain in alliance with Irish guerrillas fighting British rule in Northern Ireland.

The Guardian reported there were bitter divisions inside the Libyan Embassy over who should negotiate with the British authorities.

The newspaper said the divisions were between the accredited diplomats, the "Revolutionary Students Committee" which took over the embassy last February, or a military squad which dissidents here say Gaddafi has sent to London to deal with them.

Home Secretary Brittan is expected to face tough questioning in Parliament this week, more from members of his own Conservative Party than from opposition Laborites, who have said they will not heat up the issue until the Libyans have left Britain.

Conservative MP Eddowes Griffiths said he understood the reasoning behind the government decision, "but none of that can justify an act of murder going untried in a British court."

"She died for nothing — the killer gets away with it," stormed The Star, beside a large photo of machine-gunned policewoman Yvonne Fletcher. "Yvonne's killer gets away with murder," echoed The Daily Mirror, and the more staid Daily Telegraph headlined: "Killer to escape justice."

The U.S. administration gave its full support to Britain's breaking diplomatic relations with Libya and giving the Libyans a week to evacuate their besieged embassy in London and leave the country. (AP, Reuters)



Mourners in Jerusalem on Sunday carry the coffin of Ehud Zimring, who died of wounds suffered in the terrorist attack on April 2. (Rahamim Israeli)

## Victim of J'lem terrorist attack dies

Jerusalem Post Staff

Ehud Zimring, 35, who was injured during the terrorist grenade attack in downtown Jerusalem on April 2, died of his wounds on Sunday and was buried later in the day.

Zimring was a Transport Ministry

official whose duties included supervising the fight against traffic accidents. In the army, he served as a medic in both the Yom Kippur War and the Lebanon war. Zimring is survived by his wife and three children.

## PFLP threatens to kill prisoners

DAMASCUS (AFP). — The PLO wing headed by George Habash says in future it will kill captured Israeli soldiers, because it claims Israel murdered two of the terrorists involved in the April 12 bus attack.

A Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine communique claimed that Subhi Abu Jarna and Ma'idi Abu Jarna were killed after they were captured in the storming of the bus by Israeli security forces. An IDF spokesman said two of the terrorists were killed outright and the other two died of their wounds on the way to the hospital.

The family of one of the two terrorists in question has claimed that a man in a photograph shown visiting the bus unescorted after the hostages were released was one of the attackers.

In the communique, the PFLP called on the International Red Cross to investigate what it called "the murder by Israeli authorities" of the two bus attackers.

## PLO factions slate new round of talks

ALGIERS (AP). — Representatives of the three main factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization ended a three-day reconciliation meeting and agreed to resume the talks "at a higher level" within two weeks.

The new meeting would be attended by the top leaders of the three organizations, Yasser Arafat of the Fatah movement, George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Nayef Hawatmeh of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

We deeply mourn the passing of our dear

**EUNICE H. BRAUDE**

The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, April 24, 1984, at 3 p.m. at the Savion cemetery.

Her family and friends.

World ORT Union and ORT Israel announce with deep sorrow the passing of

**EUNICE BRAUDE**

The funeral will take place today, 24.4.84, at 3 p.m. at the Savion cemetery.

The entire ORT family, her friends and acquaintances mourn her death.

With broken heart and deep sorrow we announce the death of

**LEAH KRAUSZ** י"ה

beloved wife of Armin  
darling mother of Sylvia and Neville  
adored mother-in-law of Asher and Pessy,  
deeply cherished by her grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Her sweet soul joined her Meker on Shabbat Kodesh, 19th of Nissan 5744, April 21, 1984.

Her sacred remains were laid to rest on the Mount of Olives in the presence of her entire family, and many friends and admirers. Darling Leah, you will never be forgotten. Shiva will take place at 11/45 Rehov Diskin, Jerusalem from the end of Pessah.

We mourn the death of our beloved husband, father and grandfather

**HERMAN S. GREENBERG**

Ruth C. Greenberg  
Sara, Eliezer and Yoni Kallai  
Naomi, Avi and Yotam Gil  
Hadasah Greenberg  
Miriam S. Greenberg

The funeral will take place Wednesday, 25 April at 11 a.m. at the cemetery near Beit Shemesh. We will meet at Binyamin Hauma.



Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality  
deeply mourns the death of

**MARCEL JANCO**

one of the giants of world art  
A dynamic force in Israel's art world  
who even in founding Ein Hod  
remained a true lover of Tel Aviv.

Shlomo Lahat  
Mayor

With deep sorrow we announce the death  
of our beloved

**DORIS RIECK**

The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, April 24, 1984 at 2.30 p.m. at the Herzliya Cemetery.

The Family

In deep sorrow we announce the sudden passing of

**JUNE SHAPIRA (Karan)**

The funeral will take place today, 24.4.84, at 2 p.m. at the Herzliya cemetery

The Family

THE ISRAEL POLICE

National Headquarters/Criminal Identification Department  
mourn the death of

**Pakad MICHAEL HAROLD**

and offer sympathy to the family.



## Haifa council threatens to show Shabbat films

By DAVID RUDGE  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Friday night shows will be staged at the Histadrut-owned Orly and Amphi cinemas in the Hadrif Transport Minister Haim Corfu implements proposals to stop early Saturday afternoon bus services from the city, the Haifa Labour Council pledged on Sunday. Council secretary Moshe Wertman said this would be one of the first steps in a battle against the minister's directives to the Egged bus co-operative. He accused Corfu of deliberately trying to sabotage the city's long-standing status quo which allows public transport on Saturday. Under the conditions of Egged's renewed licence from the Transport Ministry, inter-city buses will have to wait until after the end of Shabbat before they can leave Haifa's

central bus station. The change is to take effect as of next month.

Wertman said the Saturday afternoon service has been operating since the British Mandate period and is considered part of the city's status quo agreement on religious matters.

The government is now trying to cancel the status quo, which in turn would destroy the traditionally good relations between the city's Orthodox and secular residents, Wertman said.

If the government goes through with this action, then the Labour Council will feel free to open its cinemas on Friday nights, he said.

Mayor Arye Gurel has twice appealed to the transport minister to cancel the proposed traffic order. The mayor warned that it would lead to strife for which the government would bear responsibility.



Suspected Jewish terrorists Amram Der'i (centre) and his cousin David Der'i are escorted by police on Sunday to the Jerusalem District Court, where their remand was extended until the end of their trial. They were charged on Friday with carrying out grenade attacks on several Christian and Moslem religious institutions in the Jerusalem area. (Rahamim Israeli)

## 1,000 S. Africans to attend Mimouna fete in Ofakim

By LIOA MORIEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

OFAKIM. — More than 1,000 South African immigrants and tourists are expected here today for the Mimouna celebration in the local park.

Sara Nygate, who runs the Negev office of the South African Zionist Federation, told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that "the response has been fantastic. Everyone is very excited."

Most of the guests are to arrive on buses which will also take them on a tour of this development town west of Beersheba with a population of 14,000. Those arriving in private cars will have to park outside the town, from where they will be escorted into town by a shuttle service.

The South African Jewish community has given substantial help to the town's project renewal.

Prime Minister Shamir was to

visit the home of MK Meir Shitrit in Yavne last night for the Mimouna. Today Shamir is to address the crowd at Hayarkon Park.

Meanwhile, Safad's chief rabbi, David Dayan, has asked the public not to participate in Mimouna festivities which are to be held at the Central Hotel. He said in handbills distributed around town that the festivities are to include belly-dancing and other "indecentities" which are forbidden by religious law. The rabbi said the festivities as planned negate the Jewish character of Mimouna.

In Tel Aviv, a blood-donation drive is to be carried out during Mimouna celebrations today at Hayarkon Park. A Magen David Adom spokesman said the drive is meant to make up for the usual drop in blood donations at the holiday season.

In Haifa, the Mimouna festivities are to be held at the site of Elijah's Cave starting at 10 a.m.

## New Soviet Jewry body aims at youth

Jerusalem Post Staff

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer and Soviet Jewry activists Avital Sheharansky and Yosef Mendelovich are to participate today at the founding conference of the Action Committee for Soviet Jewry, a non-partisan body seeking to involve the country's youth in the cause of Soviet Jewry.

The idea for the organization grew out of the activities of students at several yeshivot headed by yeshivas combining study and military service, who decided it was necessary to broaden their own Soviet Jewry organization, Ve'shavu Banim. The organizers seek to involve more of the country's youth, particularly secular youth.

The conference is to take place at Schleiss Hall at Bar-Ilan University, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., with the support of the Public Council for Soviet Jewry, the Zionist Council and the Government Information Centre. A highlight of the conference is to be the showing of a film smuggled from the Soviet Union which depicts life in labour camps and describes Jewish activism in the large Soviet cities.

## Man charged in kidnapping-rape of 8-year-old

HAIFA (Itim). — An Acre man was indicted in the district court here on Sunday for kidnapping and raping his friend's 8-year-old daughter earlier this month. Fawzi Muhammad Sifad, 30, was ordered held until a remand hearing on April 29. The charge-sheet stated that on the night of April 8, Sifad broke into his friend's house in Acre and forced the child at knifepoint to a nearby soccer field where he raped her.

Sifad, meanwhile, claimed that he was being harassed and beaten by prisoners in the lock-up. The judge said that if his complaint is true the authorities must protect him.

## Court remands suspect in rape of Bat Yam child

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A man suspected of raping a six-year-old girl in Bat Yam last October was remanded for 15 days by a magistrate's court judge here on Sunday. The 23-year-old man, whose name was barred from publication, was ordered by the judge to be sent for psychiatric observation.

Police said that the man was arrested last week after carrying out an indecent act on another six-year-old girl.

## SLA COMMANDER

(Continued from Page One)

command of the militia on April 4. He replaced Haddad, a Greek Catholic from Marjayoun who died of cancer last January.

In 1980, Haddad declared the strip of hilly Lebanese land adjacent to the Israeli border as "Free Lebanon," and was promptly dubbed a traitor by the Lebanese government.

Lahad has dropped talk of "Free Lebanon" but like Haddad, he says he wants a Lebanon free of all foreign forces.

"I am going to free the region of the south and bring back Lebanese sovereignty to the area," he says. Lahad said he volunteered for the top militia post when he learned the Lebanese government was planning to abrogate the troop-withdrawal accord it had negotiated with Israel in 1983. The agreement, cancelled by Lebanon in March, had called for Israeli troops to pull out of Lebanon in exchange for a Lebanese government pledge to protect Israel's northern border and other concessions.

He said he held his first talks with Israeli officials in February at their office in Dbayeh, north of Beirut. "There were several more meetings, then there was an agreement," he said.

The militia, which is operating in a region populated mostly by Shi'ite Moslems, is 60 per cent Christian and 40 per cent Moslem, Lahad said. "In the next couple of months it will be 50-50," he added. The fighters have been drawn from Haddad's forces, the Christian Phalange party militia and the now-defunct Israeli-supported "Shi'ite Home Guard," he said.

"The Israelis are helping us materially — a part of our equip-

ment comes from Israel — and part of it we get from money we take in taxes," he said. The "taxes" are collected from shopkeepers and other merchants.

While Israeli patrols have suffered almost daily attacks in the south, Lahad says his men have sustained "very few, three or four," since he took command of his militia.

Some of Lahad's militiamen, who work in the same areas controlled by Israel south of the Avari River, have come to look and act much like their mentors.

They often wear the same uniforms. And some militiamen have begun carrying their rifles as the Israelis do — the strap around the neck, rather than over the shoulder, and the weapon serving as an arm rest.

But many of the South Lebanon Army fighters are not very fond of the Israelis. They joke about them, sarcastically mimic their behaviour and at times criticize their presence.

One fighter, who identified himself as Simon, and his friends — all dressed in Christian Phalange uniforms and responsible for guarding the gates of the Israeli headquarters at Kfar Falous — referred to the Israelis inside as "pimps."

A Shi'ite militiaman, who identified himself as Ali and said he was 19, said he supported "resistance" against the Israelis in the south by "turning blind eyes" to the attacks against them.

He said he was being forced to stay with the South Lebanon Army because the men in his village of Beit Yahoun had been told they had the choice of joining the militia or leaving the village.

## Bank Hapoalim-Histadrut ties need re-examination—Meshel

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Histadrut Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel has called for a "re-examination" of the responsibilities of the Histadrut controller regarding Bank Hapoalim, apparently with an eye to extending Histadrut control over the bank.

The suggestion was one of several drawn up by Meshel in preparation for this Thursday's meeting between the Histadrut central committee and the Hevrat Ha'ovdim management committee. The links between the two organizations will be discussed at the meeting.

Bank Hapoalim, which is owned by Hevrat Ha'ovdim, is supervised by the Controller of Banks. All other Histadrut and Hevrat Ha'ovdim bodies are overseen by the Histadrut controller.

Meshel added in his statement that Bank Hapoalim subsidiaries should also come under the Histadrut controller.

Histadrut sources said last night that there have been repeated calls over the years for tighter Histadrut control over Bank Hapoalim. The matter arose again two months ago after the suicide of former Bank Hapoalim chairman Ya'acov Levinson.

## Virus discovery may mean AIDS vaccine in two years

WASHINGTON (Reuter). — The United States government has announced that state-sponsored researchers have discovered the probable cause of the disease AIDS, which has caused panic among homosexuals in recent years.

The researchers could be within two years of developing a cure for the ailment, Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler told a news conference yesterday in Washington.

"Today's discovery represents the triumph of science over a dreaded disease," said Heckler, speaking on behalf of a research team from the government-funded National Institutes of Health.

AIDS — Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome — leaves its victims open to a series of wasting diseases by affecting their immune systems. It attacks hemophiliacs, drug users and recipients of blood transfusions as well as homosexuals.

About 40 per cent of the more than 4,000 Americans afflicted with the disease since its discovery in 1981 have died.

Heckler said the probable cause of the disease is a variant of a cancer virus called Human T-cell Leukemia Virus (HTLV) which attacks human T-cells, an essential element of the immune system.

She said the discovery at the Washington-based National Institutes of Health had come at the same time as a similar discovery of an AIDS-causing virus at the Pasteur Institute in France.

"Within the next few weeks we will know with certainty whether that virus is the same one identified through the Institutes' work."

Heckler said the American team headed by Dr. Robert Gallo, of the National Cancer Institute, had not only succeeded in identifying the virus but had developed a new process to mass-produce it.

"With the discovery of both the virus and this new process, we now have a blood test for AIDS which we hope can be widely available within about six months," she said.

Heckler said the blood test would prevent blood-transfusion recipients catching the disease through receiving tainted blood.

"Thus, we should be able to ensure that blood for transfusion is free from AIDS," she said.

Heckler said the researchers also believed that the identification of the virus would enable a vaccine to be developed to prevent AIDS.

"We hope to have such a vaccine ready for testing in about two years," she said.

## Israeli's satirical portraits on show in Haifa

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Ori Hofmekler, who at 32 has already had a meteoric success as a political artist in the world press, is holding his first exhibition in Israel at the Goldmann Gallery on Mount Carmel. The show has oil portraits of the world's famous which have appeared in magazines, and the preparatory sketches.

Hofmekler was recently appointed contributing editor of *Penthouse* magazine in the U.S., which carries a spread of two to

four of his works in colour every month. His pictures have also appeared on *Penthouse* posters which advertise him as the monthly's "exclusive" political artist.

Now largely tied up with his work in the U.S., Hofmekler has also been published in Europe and Japan.

At a press conference at the gallery, the Israel-born graduate of the Bezalel Arts Academy said he had been approached by some political parties to work for their election campaign. He revealed that during the last elections, the Alignment

employed him to make satirical portraits of its rivals. On the whole, however, he said Israeli politicians are "not big enough" to have themselves satirized.

Hofmekler, who is married and a father of two children, spends six months a year in the U.S., but said he is determined to remain an Israeli.

Among the pictures on show is one showing Yasser Arafat as Venus emerging from the sea on a half-shell. Another has Leonid Brezhnev as a naked angel.



Hordes of hikers braved rain and mud over Pessah to see the rare peony (*Paeonia moutan*) bloom on the slopes of Mt. Meron in Galilee, the only place it grows in the country. The 10-centimetre-wide flower has dark purple petals and a yellow centre. (Leora Cheshin)

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## Libyan oil embargo unlikely to hurt Britain

By PETER WILLIAMS

LONDON (Reuters). — Libya would be likely to suffer more than Britain if it stopped crude oil exports to Britain as a result of the crisis over the killing of a policewoman outside Libya's London Embassy, oil analysts say.

The world oil market is currently well supplied and Britain would have little difficulty in replacing the oil it now buys from Libya.

Libyan crude oil exports to Britain were just under 1 million metric tons last year, little more than 3 per cent of total British imports.

Although Britain is self-sufficient in oil, North Sea companies have found it profitable to export part of the country's high-grade crude oil and purchase other crudes to balance refinery needs.

Most Libyan crude oil enters Britain via the free market rather than under contract.

Libyan crudes became increasingly available on a spot basis in 1982 following the U.S. embargo on Libyan crude and oil products. The embargo was prompted by Libya's policy of international terrorism and subversion.

In the same year Mobil, the

world's second largest oil company, decided to cease exploration and production operations in Libya, saying the terms dictated by the government made it impossible to continue.

So far there have been no moves either by British oil companies or by the Libyan government to disrupt oil links.

Libya relies almost exclusively on oil exports for its foreign exchange earnings. These came to around \$10 billion last year.

If Libya imposed an oil embargo on Britain, British refineries would find no difficulty in buying other crudes of similar quality — such as those from Nigeria or Algeria — on the spot market, according to a leading London crude oil broker.

Although the crude oil market is slowly growing as the developed world recovers from recession, producing countries both inside and outside the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries are eager to expand their market share.

They would happily offer Britain long-term supply contracts to meet any shortfall caused by a Libyan embargo, one oil analyst said.



In one of numerous peace rallies in West Germany yesterday, demonstrators outside a church in Fulda stage a "die-in."

(UPI telephoto)

### Protesters surround U.S. missile base

MUTLANGEN, West Germany (AP). — About 15,000 protesters yesterday ringed a U.S. Pershing missile base guarded by 1,000 riot police two days after a group broke into the installation and drew warning shots.

There were no reports of violence in Mutlangen or elsewhere across West Germany as peace groups staged rallies to climax five days of Easter week protests against deployment of 572 new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Protest organizers claimed that more than 250,000 people marched

yesterday in West Germany, pushing the total to half a million over the five-day period. However, numbers provided by police were considerably lower.

The organizers claimed 70,000 rallied in Frankfurt, but police put their number at 18,000. In Dortmund, organizers claimed 78,500 protesters, but police said there were a maximum of 15,000 at a downtown square.

In Cologne, organizers put the number of protesters at 25,000, about double the police estimate. Police also estimated 10,000 demonstrators in Munich and Nuremberg.

### World marks Easter with prayer, politics and protest

NEW YORK (AP). — Millions of Christians around the world celebrated the resurrection of Jesus on Easter Sunday, praying in the splendor of the Vatican, among the ancient stones of Jerusalem and before altars in the small churches and great cathedrals of many lands.

Russians baked holy cakes. Hungarians feasted according to traditions centuries old. Poles filled their churches for Mass.

In Paris, church bells pealed across the city, sending flights of pigeons into skies shimmering with springtime sun.

In China, thousands of Chinese crowded Communist-sanctioned churches, and more than 100 foreigners gathered for sunrise services atop China's Great Wall on the hills north of Peking.

Many celebrants used the day to make strong statements. Pope John Paul II, speaking to over 350,000 Roman Catholic pilgrims in front of St. Peter's Basilica, appealed for an end to the "feverish preparation" of war materials and for a halt to torture and terrorism.

Toward the end of the mass, about 10,000 people marched to the Vatican to protest hunger and nuclear arms. The demonstration was organized by peace and disarmament groups.

In the Pope's native Poland, where 90 per cent of the 37 million people are Catholics, Cardinal Jozef Glemp said Mass and praised the

determination of high-school pupils who rebelled against attempts by Communist authorities to remove crucifixes from school walls.

The "Crucifix Crusade" ended April 6 when authorities agreed to permit a few crosses to remain in the schools.

In Northern Ireland, thousands of Roman Catholics marched through Londonderry's Bogside district to commemorate the 1916 Easter Uprising that led to creation of the Irish Republic.

The march in the country's second-largest city was one of more than 30 marches and rallies held by Irish nationalists in the province on the anniversary of the Dublin Uprising, which was crushed by British troops and shelling from a British frigate.

The Soviet Union celebrated Russian Orthodox Easter and Lenin's birthday Sunday.

In Zagorsk, the spiritual centre of Russian Orthodoxy, thousands of believers and the curious braved a cordon of soldiers, police, plainclothesmen and security volunteers for Saturday midnight masses that lasted until dawn in the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius.

Across the rest of the Soviet Union, bright red flags bearing the hammer and sickle were draped from buildings. Huge banners of Vladimir Lenin were mounted on billboards for the official celebration of the nation's greatest hero.

### Bechtel Corp. denies bribing South Koreans

SEOUL (Reuters). — The U.S. Bechtel Corporation yesterday denied allegations that it had paid large amounts to South Korean officials between 1978 and 1980 to win nuclear plant contracts.

John Robb, vice-president of Bechtel International based here, said: "Bechtel's policy regarding ethical business conduct is very clear and prohibits illegal payments. This policy is vigorously and strictly enforced."

U.S. government sources said Saturday that the Justice Department is investigating the allegations against Bechtel, a California construction company which does billions of dollars of business mostly in Arab countries.

### Saudi pledges Afghans aid against Soviets

PESHAWAR, Pakistan (Reuters). — Crown Prince Abdullah Ibn Abdulaziz yesterday assured continued Saudi Arabian support for resistance against the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

Addressing Afghan refugees outside Peshawar, capital of Pakistan's North-West Frontier province bordering Afghanistan, he said he was hopeful the Afghans would succeed in what he called a "just struggle against foreign domination."

### Turks visit Iran to pave way for \$3 billion deal

ANKARA (AP). — A Turkish delegation of 200 businessmen, led by Minister Ismail Ozdaglar, flew to Tehran yesterday to negotiate a \$3-billion trade deal. The deal would give both sides about \$1.5 billion worth of exports to each other this year.

In a departure statement, Ozdaglar, Minister in Charge of Technical and Trade Development, said they would also discuss building a pipeline to pump Iranian crude to Europe via Turkey and a natural-gas pipeline project from Iran to Turkey.

He said they would also propose a tractor plant in Iran, which is a major purchaser of Turkish-made farm machinery.

Iran is Turkey's largest export market with trade volume last year totalling \$2.3 billion divided almost equally between exports and imports.

On Saturday, Premier Turgut Ozal is to fly to Tehran to sign accords to be worked out by the businessmen.

Iran has increasingly turned to Turkey, which has remained neutral throughout the Gulf war, to help meet demands unfilled due to difficulties caused by the war and a fall in foreign trade following the 1979 revolution.

## Six terrorists, Indian officer die in Punjab

CHANDIGARH, India (AP). — Six Sikh terrorists were killed and four wounded yesterday in a gun battle with paramilitary troops in troubled Punjab state, authorities said. The deaths brought to seven the number of fatalities in communal violence yesterday.

Two paramilitary soldiers were injured in the shootout in Ferozepur City, Punjab Inspector-General of Police Pritam Singh Bhinder told reporters here.

A night curfew later was imposed on Ferozepur, 200 kilometres west of Chandigarh and 375 kilometres northwest of New Delhi.

Suspected Sikh terrorists killed

an air force officer and fired on a Hindu politician in Punjab yesterday as the government accused extremists of "desecrating" their most sacred shrine.

On Sunday, Sikh terrorists assassinated two Hindus, beat a Sikh to death in the Golden Temple in apparent internal rivalry, and robbed Hindu bus passengers, authorities said.

Four Hindus wounded by terrorist gunfire were listed in serious condition in hospitals.

Police said Paramjit Singh, an air force squadron leader, was shot dead by two people who broke into his home in Lopoke village, about

25 kms. west of the Sikh holy city of Amritsar.

In New Delhi, Home Minister Prakash Sethi appealed to Sikh leaders to hand over criminals hiding in Amritsar's Golden Temple, the holiest Sikh shrine.

Sethi denied Indian newspaper reports that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had spoken by telephone over the weekend with Harchand Singh Longowal, president of the Sikhs' Akali Dal Party.

The two have not spoken since the party began its "Morchha," or agitation, for greater Sikh political and religious autonomy in Punjab nearly two years ago.

## Armed Sikh 'saint' preaches piety and power

By VICTORIA GRAHAM

AMRITSAR, India (AP). — On a parapet of the Golden Temple, with armed guards at his side and devotees at his feet, a barefoot, barely literate preacher packs a .45-calibre Smith and Wesson and a microphone. He speaks of pure life, glorious revenge and noble death.

Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale is holding his daily revival meeting, exhorting his followers to return to the old-style Sikh religion and to fight for the faith with motorcycles, guns and their lives.

"Our fight against the government is a holy war. We will not accept Sikhs being reduced to slaves. A Sikh without arms is naked, a lamb led to slaughter... Buy motorcycles, guns and repay the traitors in the same coin... Don't lead a peaceful life but defend the peace," he preaches.

The 37-year-old rustic is considered public enemy No. 1 by the Indian government, the man most dangerous and wanted by police. They call him a religious fanatic who commands, or at least inspires, the Sikh terrorist killings of Hindus and Sikhs that have wracked the Punjab state.

But the man in the brilliant

orange turban, with a simple white cotton tunic, a bandolier of bullets and flowing black beard is considered a "sant" — or saint — by thousands of Sikhs, especially simple farmers and country youths.

He mesmerizes his followers, speaks to their frustrations in earthy Punjab idiom and publicly has denounced a "hit list."

Outside the Golden Temple, holiest of Sikh shrines, a dozen souvenir shops sell his colour photographs in all sizes and poses. In some he brandishes microphone and sabre. A set of 12 tape cassettes for 20 rupees (\$2) a piece contains the collected fighting words of Sant Bhindranwale — including the famous "hit list" speech that names targets.

On the terrace of the Golden Temple several hundred men, women and children hang on his every word. They include prosperous doctors, ex-communicated student intellectuals, college professors, well-to-do "jhat" (cannabis) farmers, illiterate unemployed and retired, decorated military men.

A reporter asked 20 youths if they would kill to defend their faith and sacrifice their lives if the man from

Binder so commanded. All of them virtually shouted, "Yes."

But Bhindranwale has not set foot outside the Golden Temple for two years, because he is wanted by police in connection with scores of assassinations by gunmen on motorcycles, bomb blasts in Hindu temples and arson.

"I will leave when our cause is achieved," he says.

He and his followers occupy one red brick building of the sprawling white 17th century Golden Temple. Across the labyrinthine compound — home to every stripe of Sikh extremist and eccentric — is the staid and proper office of his rival, the avuncular Sant Longowal, president of the Akali Dal Sikh political party.

Police say the temple has become a haven for assassins and a warehouse for their weapons, some smuggled from Pakistan or leftover from the last war.

Bhindranwale holds court every day. Relishing the limelight, he welcomes all reporters, especially the foreign media. Like the rest, they must sit at his feet, their questions translated into Punjabi, the answers delivered by microphone to the assembly as part of the day's lecture.

### Nature photographer

#### Ansel Adams dies

CARMEL HIGHLANDS, California (AP). — Ansel Adams, whose photographs of nature put him among the forefront of American artists, died yesterday at age 82, his family reported.

Adams, an environmentalist who testified recently before Congress on the need to preserve the California coastline from development, died of natural causes, a family spokesman said.

Among his best-known works were dramatic black-and-white photos of Yosemite National Park in California.

### Thunderstorms hit mid-Atlantic U.S.

NEW YORK (AP). — Severe thunderstorms lashed the mid-Atlantic U.S. yesterday and headed for the northeast after Easter-weekend tornadoes killed 15 people in Mississippi and left a trail of damage in four states.

A tornado hit Georgia at about 1 a.m. yesterday, taking the roof off a house and heavily damaging two barns, the National Weather Service said. No injuries were reported.

The storm system dumped rain on parts of Florida, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina on Sunday, spinning off twisters that lifted roofs from barns in two Georgia counties and caused two minor injuries.

The same system, which dumped

0.9 metres of snow on the Rocky Mountains last week, brought rain, sleet and snow to parts of Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin and light snow in southeastern Minnesota. Scattered flooding was reported Sunday in Tennessee and Kentucky.

A minor earthquake shook parts of the U.S. east coast Sunday night, shaking an area from Washington to New York, but no damage or injuries were reported.

**WARNING SYSTEM.** — The Soviet Union is building an early-warning system for tidal waves in its earthquake-prone far eastern regions. Tass news agency reported from Vladivostok yesterday.

## Peking to citizens: Good manners for Reagan

PEKING (AP). — China's leaders have told people in Peking's cramped courtyards and hovels to clean up, to refrain from spitting and not to let children urinate on the street while President Reagan is here.

As Reagan and his three-plane entourage slowly made their way across the Pacific, Peking workers were toiling to plant last-minute trees, pot flowers outside the Great Hall of the People and otherwise put the best possible face on the dusty Chinese capital for the American leader, who is to arrive Thursday.

The state-run press has disclosed few details to China's one billion people about the trip, the first by a U.S. president since Peking and Washington normalized relations in 1979.

But Chinese sources say they have been told by word of mouth to tidy up, not to spit and keep their young children from *da xiao bian* — relieving themselves — on the street.

This is a common sight in Peking neighbourhoods, where few people have private bathrooms and public hygiene is a major problem. Parents commonly cut slits in the pants of their young children to make it

more convenient.

The Peking Evening News, the capital's afternoon tabloid, said recently it has received scores of letters from citizens angry because of filthy public toilets and plugged pipes.

Reagan is not expected to venture into the narrow winding *hutongs* where many of Peking's 9 million people live. But First Lady Nancy Reagan is to visit a shopping district and to have tea with a Chinese woman in her home.

During a stopover in Honolulu yesterday on his way to China, Reagan described his mission as "another, careful, yet sure, step towards peace and friendship between the Chinese and American people."

Touching on Communist-Chinese relations, Reagan said "This week we hope to continue the process of reconciliation." The president has long been a critic of the People's Republic of China and an ardent supporter of the Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan.

China raised the issue of Taiwan Sunday when the weekly Peking Review demanded concrete actions to fulfil the U.S. pledge to reduce arms sales to the Nationalists on

Taiwan "pending the eventual repeal" of the Taiwan Relations Act.

The Taiwan Relations Act was signed by President Jimmy Carter in 1979, four months after he recognized the communists in Peking as the sole legal government of China and broke formal relations with Taiwan.

The law permits Americans to have "unofficial" contacts with Taiwan and provides for continued U.S. arms sales to the capitalist island for self-defence.

What really rankles the Chinese is weapons sales to Taiwan, an island of 18 million people, where Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek set up a rival regime in 1949.

Under strong pressure from Peking, the U.S. pledged to reduce such sales gradually, leading to an undefined "final resolution" of the problem.

Back in the U.S., former president Richard Nixon says Americans should help China achieve prosperity as a means of containing Soviet aggression.

In an essay for *Newsweek*, Nixon wrote "A weak China invites aggression. A strong China will be a problem for the Soviet Union long before it will be a concern for us."

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# Mixed Signals



David G. Klein

## Reagan Takes a Break From the Furor Over Central America

By HEDRICK SMITH

**P**RESIDENT Reagan takes off for China today, demonstrating the power and prerogative of an incumbent to walk away from frustrating domestic backlogs and shift the nation's attention elsewhere. As he makes his first visit to any Communist country, Mr. Reagan can look forward this week to upstaging the Democratic Presidential contenders as well as the Republicans who helped deliver a stinging rebuke 12 days ago over the mining of Nicaraguan harbors.

Nonetheless, Central America dogs him. Congress has put a hold on the aid that he believes is desperately needed, and the growing American involvement promises to be a major campaign issue this fall. As the President left for the West Coast Thursday, morning papers carried the news that an unarmed American helicopter ferrying two Democratic Senators around Honduras had been hit by heavy gunfire along the frontier with El Salvador and forced to land. Salvadoran guerrillas claimed responsibility and said the helicopter had flown over El Salvador's Morazan Province (where they are particularly strong.) American officials acknowledged that the helicopter might have strayed over the poorly defined border. Although the two Senators escaped injury, the incident underscored the hazards of the expanding conflict.

In Nicaragua, the possibility of still-deeper American involvement arose when a group of American-backed rebels, the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, claimed its first Nicaraguan beachhead by capturing the southeastern port town of San Juan del Norte. According to information in San José, Costa Rica, the operation was part of a strategy directed by the C.I.A. The rebels an-

nounced plans to establish a provisional government there soon, an idea long favored by some Central Intelligence Agency officials. A State Department diplomat remarked warily that it was an improbable venture and that all Washington should do is "applaud quietly and wish them well." The rebels, however, announced that they had withdrawn after being counterattacked.

### More C.I.A. Involvement

The operations of these Nicaraguan "contras" still roll Washington. According to the latest disclosures, C.I.A. agents supervised not only the mining of Nicaraguan harbors but also two raids last fall against oil storage and pipeline facilities at Puerto Sandino and Corinto. Even before those revelations, New York's Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan made the symbolic protest of resigning as vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee. He charged the C.I.A. had not "properly" informed the committee about the scope of American involvement in the covert operations. In answer, the agency said that it had mentioned the port-mining 11 times in briefings for Congress this year, mostly for House members or staff aides. Some Senators conceded that if their Intelligence Committee had been more alert and aggressive in its oversight, it could have found out more on its own.

Generally, however, the Administration has decided that the best political tactic is to take the criticism in silence. But President Reagan and other top officials make no secret of their feeling that they are being limited in Central America by what they see as a nervous, obstructionist Congress.

The President complained that the political debate on Central America has "strayed too far from reality" and that more military aid is urgently needed. "Eco-

nomic assistance, as much as some people on Capitol Hill would like to think otherwise, will not overcome the threat," Mr. Reagan declared.

For many in Congress, the basic problem is not that it won't deal with reality but that it feels kept in the dark about the Administration's real goals and actions. Conservative Republicans as well as liberal Democrats complain about being misled. The broad outlines of the covert war against Nicaragua have been an open secret for months. But the disclosures about the mining and sabotage raids triggered a new public awareness of the degree of direct American involvement and altered the political chemistry this spring. The idea spread that the Administration sometimes used covert warfare to get around Congress and that the C.I.A. and its controversial director, William J. Casey, were either outrunning other policy makers or actually calling the tune on policy. Reinforcing that view, officials said last week that the White House had rejected Nicaragua's proposed Ambassador to Washington at the insistence of the C.I.A., overruling the advice of Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

### Running Out of Money

Nonetheless, Agency officials say they feel almost powerless to save the 15,000-man Nicaraguan rebel forces they helped to put together, and have armed and financed. In three or four weeks, one official said, the \$24 million appropriated last fall for covert operations will run out. Americans predict a violent revenge from the Sandinistas if the contras lose American backing. "The cutoff of aid would cause tremendous panic in Nicaragua," said Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, head of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the largest contra group. "But we're going to continue fighting. For us, it's life or death."

Republican leaders such as Representative William S. Broomfield of Michigan hope Congress can be persuaded to vote some of the \$21 million sought by the Administration for the Nicaraguan operations if there can be an agreement on limits. But Democrats including Edward P. Boland, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, are strongly opposed and determined to bring the covert war to an end. Twice last year, House majorities voted against covert aid, only to be reversed later.

This year the mood is more adamant if still mercurial. White House officials believe the rearm will have subsided when Congress returns next week from the Easter recess, especially with the mining operation suspended. They count on President Reagan's China trip to capture the limelight and to show him off as a negotiator rather than Commander in Chief of a covert war. Finally, they see the Salvadoran elections on May 6 as an event that will reverse the climate of opinion on Capitol Hill if the winner is José Napoleón Duarte, the Christian Democratic candidate, a left-of-center reformer who is popular on Capitol Hill.

Already, President Reagan has diverted \$32 million in new military aid to El Salvador from accounts for other countries. Although he may be tempted to flail Congress over Central America, the President set this aid figure at the exact amount that the House majority leader, Jim Wright, had proposed as a ceiling for the troubled emergency appropriations bill.

Critics such as Representative Michael D. Barnes, a Maryland Democrat, concede that Mr. Duarte's election could make the House more receptive to even more aid. But whether this could also change the mood in Congress about the Nicaraguan rebels is another question. (China's red carpet, page 3.)

## Major News

### In Summary

#### Trying to Get Something Going On Arms Control

Negotiations on nuclear weapons may seem dead for now, but the arms race being the growth field it is, there's always plenty else to talk about. Vice President Bush flew to Geneva last week to present the Administration's proposals for banning chemical weapons at the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament. In Vienna, North Atlantic Treaty Organization delegates unveiled a new formula for reducing the forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, more than two million altogether, stationed in Central Europe. The Soviet Union said it would study both proposals, but heaped scorn on them.

The chemical weapons ban was tied to an "open invitation" for inspections. Mr. Bush said, to verify compliance. Countries would have to accept, with only 24 hours notice, international inspection of all military bases and other facilities owned or controlled by the Government.

In Moscow, Pravda dismissed the offer. "In socialist countries," the party newspaper contended, "every factory, even ones producing shoes, would be subject to verification," while nongovernmental plants in capitalist countries would not be covered. But David Emery, deputy director of the United States arms control agency, insisted that Wash-

ington would be flexible about including private chemical plants. Tass, the Soviet press agency, accused the United States of wanting to build up its chemical arsenal while discussing the ban. The Administration has requested \$1.128 billion for chemical weapons programs for next year; \$963 million of the total is for "protective measures" and destroying obsolete weapons in stock. \$163 million for maintaining the arsenal and \$95 million for developing new nerve gas bombs and artillery shells. Tass noted that the Russians have said they would accept international inspectors to oversee destruction of chemical weapons.

In hopes of breaking the 11-year deadlock on nonnuclear forces, NATO offered in Vienna to start reducing combat troops and combat-support troops without waiting for full agreement on the size of Communist rear-echelon logistical forces. The Warsaw Pact says NATO overestimates its ground forces by 170,000. The new Western offer provides for agreement on forward-based ground troops "within an acceptable range." But a Soviet spokesman said the proposals "do not disentangle the data disputes."

Dramatizing Central European volatility, two Soviet-built MIG's last week fired on, but did not hit, an American Army helicopter as it flew along the West German-Czechoslovakian border. The MIG pilots' nationality was not immediately clear.



Policeman on roof near the Libyan Embassy in London last week.

#### Libya's Violence, London's Woe

Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya was once again involved in a violent diplomatic crisis far from home last week as Britain reacted in horror to a shoot-out and siege on the streets of London.

From the Libyan Embassy in London's elegant St. James's Square machine gun bursts wounded 10 people in a group of anti-Qaddafi demonstrators and killed a British police woman. The police laid siege to the building and Home Secretary Leon

Brittan called the attack "a barbaric outrage," but the British Government was stymied in its effort to find the gunman or gunmen.

Not a conventional embassy but what the Libyans call a "people's bureau," it was nonetheless off limits to the police, who were required by diplomatic conventions to get Libyan permission to enter the building. This was refused because, Libya said, "it is contrary to international traditions." Nor could the police take it by force for fear of endangering the British mission in Tripoli and some 8,000 Britons living in Libya. While the diplomatic standoff continued, Londoners were kept on edge by

another instance of terror—a bomb explosion at Heathrow airport that injured 22 people. A group called Angry Brigade claimed responsibility.

Britons were incensed at seeing their country once more the stage for Libyan political violence. Colonel Qaddafi has frequently gone after his Libyan foes abroad, particularly in Europe. Since 1980 four of them have died and 40 have been injured by hit squads in Britain. The colonel responded to the latest British protests by accusing the British of assaulting the embassy. He demanded the siege be lifted, "nothing else." But the colonel did allow negotiations to proceed with the British Ambassador, Oliver Miles.

#### Assembly-Line Interrogation

Factory employees out West probably didn't get much work done during surprise immigration agency raids in which almost everyone was questioned and many were arrested. Nevertheless, such raids do not add up to unconstitutional seizure of a work force, the United States Supreme Court said last week in overturning a lower court opinion.

The Court's 7-to-2 vote reaffirmed the legality of one of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's most widely used techniques for rounding up illegal aliens in the West. A 1982 ruling by the Court of Appeals of the Ninth District banned the procedure in the nine Western states comprising that district. The I.N.S. continued to use it elsewhere.

Under the procedure, agents armed either with a search warrant or an owner's permission descended on a factory and questioned employees about their immigration status.

swers or the right papers were judged to be in the wrong place and arrested on the spot.

Before the lower court ruled it illegal, saying entire work forces were thus unconstitutionally seized, the technique led to as many as 20,000 arrests a year in Los Angeles alone. The practice was thrown out after a challenge by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

In the majority opinion that restored it, Associate Justice William H. Rehnquist said, "Mere questioning does not constitute a seizure." He also said that the questioning did not violate "reasonable suspicion" provisions of the law.

Associate Justices William J. Brennan and Thurgood Marshall joined in a dissenting opinion, saying it took "a considerable feat of legerdemain" not to regard individual questioning as a "seizure." They said the raids offered a "frightening picture of wholesale interrogation."

#### French Socialism's identity crisis

3



# The World

## Duarte Gets A Neutral Boost For Presidency

Roberto d'Aubuisson, the extreme rightist who has been consistently linked to El Salvador's death squads, was able, to Washington's chagrin, to rally conservative forces in 1982 and become head of Salvador's Constituent Assembly despite his party's second-place showing in the elections that year. He had no such luck last week when he tried to get similar support for the presidential election May 6. Again a rather distant second to José Napoleón Duarte, the centrist Christian Democrat, in the first round March 25, Mr. d'Aubuisson was badly weakened by a decision of the third-place candidate to stay neutral in the runoff.

Mr. Duarte went into the runoff campaign with 43 percent of the popular vote while Mr. d'Aubuisson had only 29 percent. Needing all the support he could get from Francisco José Guerrero, a conservative, who won 19 percent, Mr. d'Aubuisson courted Mr. Guerrero with offers of cabinet posts. But Mr. Guerrero rejected the advances, explaining that he was trying to move his National Conciliation Party toward the center in preparation for future elections. Evidently the party has a way to go: Mr. Guerrero also conceded that had he come out in support of Mr. Duarte, his supporters "would hang me from a tree for treason." His neutrality, he acknowledged, is likely to help Mr. Duarte; the Christian Democrat needs only a small part of Mr. Guerrero's following to get a majority. Alvaro Magaña, the conservative provisional president, also decided to remain neutral.

Whether it influenced Mr. Guerrero's decision or not, the United States seemed pleased by it. A victory for Mr. d'Aubuisson would make Congressional approval for military aid to El Salvador even more difficult to get. The Administration continued to insist such help was urgent. The Salvadoran Army was reported last week to have taken a battering in the eastern part of the country, where insurgents attacked army positions in nine towns in Morazan province. Ten soldiers were said to have been killed and 30 wounded. The army's provincial commander, Lieut. Col. Jorge Adalberto Cruz, had a narrow escape. His jeep was hit by a rocket-propelled grenade and his aide was killed.

## Mrs. Gandhi Under Fire

Frustration over the Indian Government's struggle to end the violence in Punjab state exploded in sharp attacks against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi last week. Opposition politicians in Parliament demanded her resignation. Members of her own Congress-I party joined in calling for swift action to end terrorism and rioting between Sikhs and Hindus and within the Sikh community; at least 164 people have been killed in the last nine weeks.

Mrs. Gandhi promised not to let concern about maintaining her popularity with voters inhibit stern reprisals against terrorism. Her Government dispatched hundreds of



Indians fleeing from police during clashes in Chandigarh last week.

paramilitary and police officers to reinforce local authorities, extended curfews and arrested about 160 suspects after bombing attacks set fire to 39 rural railroad stations.

Sikh terrorists were blamed for the slaying in Chandigarh of Inderpal Gupta, a shopkeeper and local president of the newly formed Hindu Protection Committee. A police subinspector and a constable were shot and killed by youths as the fighting spread into the neighboring state of Haryana, which Sikh militants want reunified with Punjab. Inside their walled fortress headquarters in the Golden Temple at

Amritsar, rival Sikh factions posted guards armed with automatic weapons around their headquarters buildings after at least five Sikhs were killed. Harchand Singh Longowal, the leader of moderate Sikhs, accused the Government of encouraging quarrels among Sikhs to weaken their campaign for autonomy.

## Another Try at Peace in Lebanon

For the second time in two months, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel had to go to Syria last week to solve his problems. Mr. Gemayel's first visit to President Hafez al-Assad resulted in the scrapping of Lebanon's withdrawal agreement with Israel as a condition for Syrian support. This time the Lebanese leader appears to have gotten Mr. Assad's blessing for changes that would give greater weight in the Lebanese Government to Syrian-influenced Moslem and Druse factions.

Political agreement first required an end to the fighting between Christians and Moslems in Beirut; there have been almost daily civilian casualties over the past few weeks. Here too progress was reported. Under the supervision of a central truce committee representing all factions, 100 retired army officers and reservists were deployed along a 10-mile line from the port area to the Shuf Mountains southeast of the city to report on cease-fire violations. Beirut was quiet yesterday for the first time in months as 1,800 gendarmes took up posts as buffers between the Christian militia and Lebanese Army units loyal to Mr. Gemayel and Druse and Moslem Shiite forces.

Mr. Gemayel's plan for reform is reported to include a revamping of Parliament to give Moslems half the seats, replacing the 6-to-5 ratio that now favors the Christians. The Cabinet, which is run by a Moslem Prime Minister, would have greater powers than now. The army chief, Gen. Ibrahim Tannous, who is disliked by the opposition, would be given an indefinite leave of absence and the army restructured under a committee representing the main religious forces.

The Syrians and their Lebanese allies were reported to be pressing their advantage by urging Mr. Gemayel to take a stand against Israel's occupation of the south. Apparently as a gesture to Damascus, the Lebanese Defense Minister disavowed any link to the South Lebanon Army that the Israelis have organized as a local militia. In the absence of any agreement with Beirut, the Israelis have indicated they are prepared to remain indefinitely to protect their northern border. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called Mr. Gemayel's trip to Damascus a further step in Lebanon's "surrender to Syria." Against Israeli objections, the United Nations Security Council voted to extend the life of the 5,688-man U.N. force that has sought to keep peace in the south since 1978.

## A Long Goodbye To Hong Kong?

Nineteen months of discussions over Hong Kong's future have given many of the British crown colony's 5.5 million inhabitants the jitters. One of Hong Kong's biggest conglomerates, Jardine Matheson & Company Ltd., decided last month to move its legal headquarters to Bermuda. Hundreds of residents have been taking their savings and hard-earned habits to London, New York, Vancouver and San Francisco. Last week, residents got the shock they had been anticipating. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said London would no longer administer Hong Kong when its lease ends in 1997.

Reporting on three days of talks in Peking with Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders, Sir Geoffrey said, "It would not be realistic to think of an agreement that provides continued British administration in Hong Kong after 1997."

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has angered China by referring in 1982 to Britain's rights to stay in Hong Kong in perpetuity. Sir Geoffrey took a different tack. To speak of "a sellout is quite untrue," he told a news conference in Hong Kong. Final agreement is still under negotiation and Britain is pressing for "a high degree of autonomy under Chinese sovereignty that would preserve the way of life," he said. Unlike people in China proper, Hong Kong residents enjoy freedoms of travel, press, religion, assembly and speech and free exchange for the Hong Kong dollar, which has kept the world's third largest financial center percolating.

Peking, hoping to preserve the economic advantages it reaps from Hong Kong, has said it will leave the economic and social system intact for at least 50 years. But after the British civil servants leave, many residents fear they will be unable to stave off assimilation into the Communist colossus next door.

Henry Gimler and Milt Freudenheim

## The State Of Things, As Seen From State

LAWRENCE S. Eagleburger is retiring next week as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, the top career position in the State Department.

Michael H. Armacost, former Ambassador to the Philippines, will succeed him. Mr. Eagleburger, a 27-year Foreign Service veteran, discussed Washington's major foreign policy concerns last week with David Binder and Bernard Gwertzman of The New York Times Washington bureau. Excerpts follow.

**Q**UESTION. You have talked about an increasing focus on the Pacific and declining attention to Europe. Is there a growing rift with Western Europe?

**A**NSWER. American attention to the Pacific Basin will continue to increase. Our trade with the Pacific is now greater than with Europe. But I was not arguing that we ought to be giving away Europe and moving to the Pacific. The U. S. has an obligation to try to understand what's going on and, working with the Europeans, to try to make sure that as events change over the next two decades, and as we increase our ties with the Pacific, we don't do that at the cost of ties with Europe.

**Q**. You've said privately that you were worried about the lack of real communication between Moscow and Washington. Is it all the Russians' fault?

**A**. The problem is essentially a Soviet problem. President Reagan, in his three years in office, has had to deal with three different Soviet leaders. That hadn't happened since Eisenhower. There has been a transition problem. Brezhnev was ill and everybody knew he wasn't going to last, so they were positioning themselves for the transition. Andropov came in; under the best of circumstances it would have taken him some time to get thoroughly on top of the bureaucracy and in charge. Then he got sick and people began again to look toward a transition. Now we have Chernenko. Nobody can predict how long it will take for him to gain thorough control. We've had a Soviet decision-making process that hasn't really been run from the center; you had coalitions coming together over issues. In most cases, when there's been a debate in the Politburo, the decision has been a hard-line decision — in part, I suspect, because that's always the easiest to defend in a time of flux.

We've found it very difficult to communicate with the Soviets. The response, time and again, has been less than imaginative and usually pretty sterile. It may be that as Chernenko gets on top of things, we will begin to see flexibility. I'm fairly pessimistic.

**Q**. The Reagan Administration seems to have made an extraordinary departure from traditional policy in this hemisphere. What had been viewed as a North-South relationship, or a strictly hemispheric approach, has been put into the East-West context. Is this a useful way to look at Central America?

**A**. We have always felt that hemispheric problems ought to be solved by the hemisphere. But I don't think anybody could argue that our Cuban problem, certainly since 1962, has not been, as well, a problem of the Cuban relationship with the Soviet Union. The Soviets have been directly and intimately involved in the Cuban problem.

In the Administration, we feel strongly that the Central American (threat) and the activities of Nicaragua would be impossible were it not for the support the Sandinistas get from Cuba, from the Soviet Union, from Eastern Europe, from Libya. We don't believe the Salvadorans can be asked to deal with their social and economic and political problems without a solid military base. But we also are prepared to concede that the problems in Central America go beyond the Soviet question. There are serious social, economic and political questions; reform is clearly necessary.

**Q**. Why is the public so unenthusiastic about the military aspects of your policies?

**A**. There is a lot left of the Vietnam syndrome, the concern that we will become directly involved militarily and that it's a bottomless pit. Also the Salvadoran right and left have an often much-deserved unsavory reputation — the mums' (murder) case, the death squads, grate on the conscience. There is this vision that we are supporting reaction, murder and corruption; that is massively incorrect. All you have to do is look at Mr. (José Napoleón) Duarte, who is one of the (presidential) candidates, a man who went to jail for his beliefs in democracy and suffered torture. There is substantial movement toward a more democratic society in Salvador that will have much greater respect for human rights.

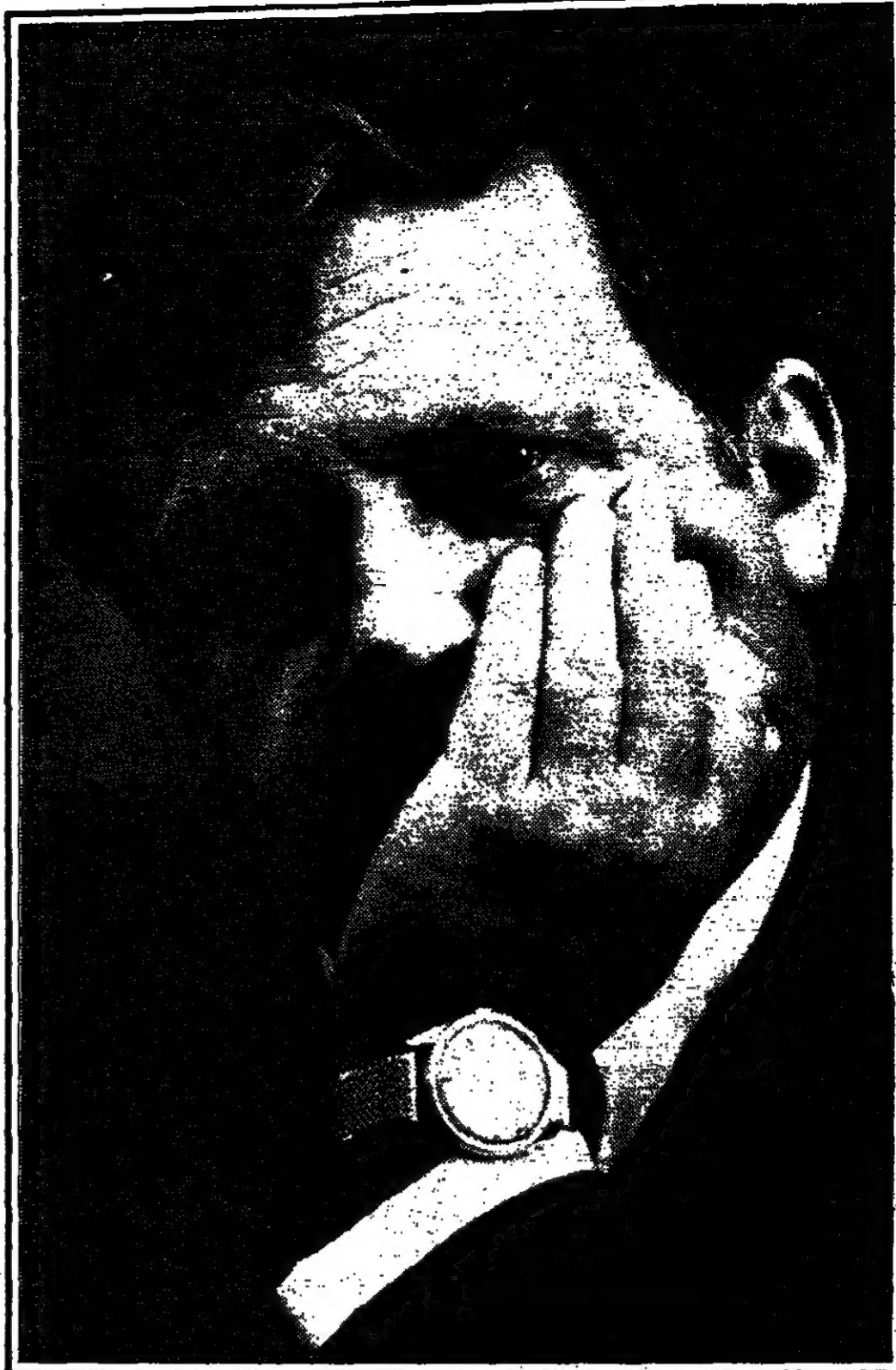
There is a real national interest in terms of what the United States might have to face, should people like the Sandinistas succeed. We have to talk more about what we may be called upon to do if we fail to achieve our objectives now through a limited involvement.

**Q**. Are you suggesting we might have to send in troops?

**A**. No. (But) I don't care what anybody says about the domino theory having been discredited in Southeast Asia — No. 1, if you were a Cambodian or a Laotian you might argue that there was something to the theory. Secondly, if the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran guerrillas are successful in overthrowing the Government in El Salvador, that's the beginning, not the end, of the problem. The Costa Ricans, the Hondurans and the Guatemalans are certainly going to face the same sort of threat. I can't even say that the Mexicans wouldn't have a problem.

I deeply believe that the Sandinistas do not wish the U. S. well, that they are intellectually and emotionally very much of a piece with the attitudes of regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. To have them in control would mean that the U. S. some years from now would have to pay far more attention to problems to its south than ever in our history. That

## INTERVIEW: Lawrence S. Eagleburger



Katherine Young/SIPA News

**'I don't care what anybody says about the domino theory having been discredited in Southeast Asia — If you were a Cambodian or a Laotian you might argue that there was something to the domino theory.'**

could have substantial impact on the way we look at the world, including our willingness to continue to be involved as we must in Europe and the Pacific.

**Q**. The public and Congress seem to be unhappy with supporting covert actions that become public. Is there a lesson here?

**A**. We are dealing, whether it's Central America or any number of other areas, with regimes that pay no attention whatsoever to the norms of international law. That is not to say that the United States does not have an obligation to stay within the bounds of international law. (But) we are dealing with major challenges to our own security. The United States cannot lightly walk away from trying to deal with those situations. On occasion, it is necessary for the United States to act through covert means.

The Congress, the Administration and the American people are going to have to accept the necessity for an ability for this Government, as with any number of other governments, to deal with some issues and some problems with less than a totally up-front public posture. If everything we do is public and up front, we run the risk of escalating the problem and getting ourselves on the edge of a war.

There are those who would argue that there should be no covert operations. To me they are in effect saying (that) the United States must put itself in a position where either it deals publicly with a problem or it doesn't deal with it at all. Sometimes dealing publicly means

**'If everything we have to do is public and up front, we run the risk of escalating the problem and getting ourselves on the edge of a war.'**

that you escalate the danger of a confrontation.

In my view, the decision to walk away from the Angola problem in 1975 was the beginning of our real difficulties with the Soviet Union. That gave the Soviet leadership an impression that they could do a number of things covertly that the United States would not be prepared to respond to. A lot of people are going to disagree with me violently, but our inability to respond semi-covertly, if you will, with support in Angola gave the Soviets a signal which we have all lived to regret.

**Q**. Ten years ago, Washington viewed Angola in the East-West context but this Administration's policy is to remove it from that context. In the negotiations about Namibia, the Russians aren't involved.

**A**. In the negotiations, no. But it's similar to Central America. Given the international competition between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the character of the Soviet system, they are engaged in a number of areas — in their mind at least — to our detriment. That does not mean that the issue is solely an East-West issue. In the Angola-Southern Africa-Namibia case, there is an element of the East-West conflict because of support from the Soviets; there are over 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola.

This Administration has tried to bring the participants to remove themselves from the East-West conflict, to try to deal with the specific causes of the conflict. We have not yet solved the problem but we are well on the way, because we have tried to insulate the issues from the East-West conflict.

**Q**. Shouldn't that be the recipe for Central America?

**A**. When you can do it. In Angola we have, by working with the Angolans and their neighbors, been able to demonstrate to a number of them that there are ways to solve that problem without relying totally on support from Cuba and the Soviet Union. It may be that 20 years from now the Sandinistas would come to the same conclusion. (Now) the Nicaraguans are spending a great deal of time intervening in the internal affairs of their neighbors.

**Q**. Is there anything a democracy can do about terrorism, other than just beefing up security?

**A**. If I had to name the five foreign policy problems that are going to be most difficult, I'd have to name terrorism. We're only beginning to see the manifestations. I don't think anybody would argue that we have the answers yet. One question that obviously has to be thought about is pre-emption. And that runs into all sorts of legal and ideological problems and legitimate concerns. You have to ask whether, when you know (a terrorist act) is going to be done, you don't have an obligation, not just a right, to act to prevent it.

**Q**. What are the other tough problems ahead?

**A**. The whole North-South complex of issues, which includes debt problems. I deeply believe that throughout an awful lot of the third world, the glow has gone off the Soviet reputation. Many of these countries (are) turning again to the West. That's one area where the trans-Atlantic relationship could get a real boost — if we and the Western European countries and Japan could come together to deal more imaginatively with these development problems.

The Iran-Iraq war, the Gulf, the Middle East, against the background of a clear understanding that the U. S.-Israeli relationship is fundamental.

We want to do everything we can to further the peace process (and) to help moderate Arab states. But we can't do that successfully if we don't have a good and solid relationship with Israel. Without that Israel — as with any country surrounded by countries most of whom still are at war with it — is going to be very cautious, if not totally opposed to compromise.



## The Communists Decided Last Week to Stay in the Cabinet, at Least for Now

# French Socialism May Be Suffering an Identity Crisis

By JOHN VINOCUR

PARIS — The experts in forensic politics examining the Socialist-Communist coalition last week may have been looking the wrong way. The real political corpse in France seems to be left-wing ideology in general.

When Laurent Fabius, the Socialist Minister of Industry, was asked what made his policies of eliminating jobs in aging industries different from those of a conservative like Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, he had to think. Socialist France, Mr. Fabius eventually answered, in effect, is firing steelworkers more humanely, and doing marvelously in retraining the industrial working class for a new technological future.

Here was the issue that led to the National Assembly's vote of confidence last week. The Communists were saying that putting steel, automobile and shipyard workers out of work (400,000 new jobless since President François Mitterrand came to power in 1981) was just not the way a left-wing Government should function. The Socialists replied that they knew the pain of industrial restructuring was not part of the Left's joint program of economic expansion and full employment, but that France would disappear as a major international player without it.

In the end, mostly because they have nowhere more attractive to go at the moment, the Communists agreed to back the confidence motion. They will stay in the Cabinet, where they are represented by four ministers, continue to peck at Mr. Mitterrand's austerity measures and perhaps leave or be kicked out one day. For some Socialists, the alliance is clinically dead already, but with no one finding sufficient advantage yet to unplug the stop devices.

The Socialist-led Government, backed by a clear majority in the Assembly until 1986, would not fall as a result of a Communist departure. So a perhaps more intriguing discussion is under way on the theme, "What's left of the Left?" In terms of foreign policy, the answers were clear by 1982. Rather than nonintervention and French disengagement from Africa, there was business as usual and French troops in Chad. Instead of a middle course between the superpowers, Mr. Mitterrand held tighter to the Atlantic alliance and backed American Pershing 2 and cruise missile deployment in Western Europe — though not in France — as a justified response to the Soviet SS-20 missiles. As for assistance to "liberation movements" and revolutionary governments, France offered Nicaragua a few patrol boats and then steered clear of Latin America. Sophisticated French arms went to Iraq and trade continued with South Africa.

### Socialist Failures

On an ideological scale, these attitudes were balanced at first by the Government's nationalization of major industries and banks, and its assertion that state intervention and spending could prime consumption, create jobs and better distribute the national wealth. For the Communists, and the left wing of the Socialist Party, this approach was sufficiently orthodox to support the Government in comfort.

But the policies did not work. France's inflation rate remained higher than that of any of its main trade rivals, and its unemployment rate grew worse. In March 1983, Mr. Mitterrand rejected a left-wing plan that would have created vast protectionist barriers in France and pulled the franc out of the European Monetary System, enabling the country to maintain its clearly Socialist economic course. Instead, the Government chose what Mr. Fabius seemed to suggest: a kind of benign Thatcherism.

Over the past year, the old verbal levers of the Left

— economic growth, jobs for everyone, higher wages — had to be abandoned by the Government. New symbols have come in their place, with the word "modernity" being elevated to the level of incantation. Businessmen, especially young entrepreneurs, a scarce commodity in France, can be heroes now. Under the circumstances, the steelworker, once an ideological symbol, has become yesterday's man.

For the Communist Party, the shift is torturous. Some non-Communist historians of its affairs believe it wanted to concentrate on smoothly shifting its power base to workers in developing technologies, but the Government's industrial policies have forced it into identity-

ing further with the workers in the dying industries. Since its ideology does not budge while it shares responsibility for Government policies, the party's appeal appears to be withering.

With the Government's discourse changing so rapidly and the old ideological basis barely functioning, a parallel identity crisis has developed among elements of the Socialist Party. Jean Poperen, the party's second-ranking official, said all the talk about "modernity" came from people who were only masquerading as leftists. He referred to them as Christian humanist types and Social Democratic clones, pejorative terms for a party that once considered the Social Democrats of northern Europe as weak-kneed capitalist allies.

In the French context, this was more damning of Mr. Mitterrand's policies than anything the Communists could have come up with. Mr. Poperen was proposing that the Left return "to class ideology and practice." But he was pushing against the sense of what has become an often-cited, ironic maxim of the Mitterrand years by Alain Touraine, a leading sociologist: "The basic merit of the left-wing Government is that it has rid us of Socialist ideology," Mr. Touraine said.



Steelworkers from Lorraine marching in Paris to protest plans to reorganize the state-owned steel industry.

## A New Regional Power

# After Years Of Reticence, Indonesia Is Speaking Up

By ROBERT TRUMBULL

JAKARTA, Indonesia — After more than 15 years of low-key diplomacy, a conservative, quietly pro-Western Indonesia is again asserting its leverage in international politics, reflecting its strength as a leading oil producer and the world's fifth most populous country. Breaking away from the retiring posture it assumed after the ouster of the late President Sukarno, a flamboyant world figure, Indonesia is playing a prime role in Southeast Asia. It is also feeling its way into more distant fields, notably the Middle East and Communist capitals.

Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja has been leading efforts toward negotiations to settle the civil war in Cambodia, a proxy battle between the Soviet Union and China that has kept Southeast Asia on edge. Mainly on this mission, but with other concerns as well, Dr. Mochtar has just returned from the first visit to Moscow in 10 years by an Indonesian Foreign Minister. He also has traveled extensively in Africa and to the independent island states in the South Pacific. At the same time Indonesia, with 150 million people and the largest Moslem population in the world, is giving high priority to relations with other Moslem moderates and to its regional role in the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

In an interview last week, Dr. Mochtar indicated that there may be overtures before long to end Indonesia's estrangement from China, which grew from suspicions that Peking had a hand in the bloody unsuccessful attempt by the Indonesian Communist Party to seize power in 1965. The Communist coup, in which six top generals were murdered, led to President Sukarno's ouster a few months later and ended Indonesia's tilt toward the Communist countries in foreign policy.

Another byproduct was Indonesia's low profile internationally. Sukarno's successor, President Suharto, a former army general who is still in office, concentrated at first on repairing the domestic disarray he had inherited. One of his few conspicuous acts was to rejoin the United Nations; his predecessor had quit in an outburst of temper when Malaysia, with which Sukarno was quarreling, was elected to the Security Council. The change was "deliberate, a retreat from the special style of Sukarno, which was flamboyant, almost extravagant, but without much real substance," Foreign Minister Mochtar said. "Sukarno had left the nation prostrate, and the reaction was more or less to come to one's senses. The first order at that time was to survive and reconstruct. People were also fed up with flamboyance. There was no mood for the type of foreign policy that we had just left behind."

### Billions in Western Aid

Diplomatic observers and respected Indonesian analysts, such as Dr. Yusuf Wanandi of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a private organization that keeps in close touch with the Government, say the new look is mainly a difference in style rather than principle. Dr. Wanandi noted that the Constitution adopted in 1945, when Indonesia declared its independence from Dutch colonial rule, enjoins the country to have an "active" for-



Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja (left) with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in Moscow this month.

sign policy. However, he said, Suharto had taken a "more realistic" approach.

According to a Western ambassador, Indonesia still adheres closely to its original principles of professed non-alignment and anticolonialism. But, Dr. Mochtar noted, now that Namibia (South-West Africa) is the only big example of classic colonialism left, the anticolonialist thrust is aimed at "economic emancipation."

An Indonesian commentator who asked not to be identified insisted that the turn toward the West was dictated by economic needs. "The Western European countries, Japan and the United States are where the money has to come from, and Indonesia has cultivated good relations with all of them," he said. Jakarta receives \$2.2 billion of economic assistance annually from a consortium of 14 countries, the World Bank and other international lenders; last year, Tokyo contributed \$280 million and Washington \$110 million. Indonesia's economic outlook, thus bolstered, is encouraging, experts said, despite the fall in the price of oil, its main export. This, too, was said to have contributed to the new, more assertive foreign policy. "Economic progress has given the country more self-confidence," Dr. Wanandi said.

But a senior Foreign Ministry official noted that while Indonesia's new visibility in international affairs has been receiving attention abroad, the emphasis was still on "moderation," which is said to be a national character trait. Indonesia played a moderating role at the recent conference of third world information ministers in Jakarta. The meeting's main subject was the dominant role of Western news agencies in collecting and distributing the information published and broadcast in developing countries. Indonesia reportedly softened the ferocious anti-Western rhetoric of the conference, which reporters were not allowed to attend, as reflected in the final communiqué.

The same motivation partly guides Indonesia's gradual development of closer links with Islamic nations of the Middle East, an official said. Having weathered a threat to the national fabric by an extreme Moslem fundamentalist faction a few years ago, Jakarta tends to shy away from moves that might encourage Islamic militants in countries such as Iran and Libya to establish contacts here. Similarly, ugly memories associated with the 1965 coup have made the Indonesians cautious in dealing with Communists.

## Trip Seems Likely to Result in Greater Economic Cooperation

# China Smooths the Way for Reagan's Visit

By CHRISTOPHER WREN

PEKING — President Reagan's visit to China this week, the first by an incumbent President since 1975, may produce more spectacle than substance, but the occasion has already imparted a new stability to Chinese-American relations after a series of disagreements. Both sides are on their best behavior, with Peking as eager as Washington to have the visit go smoothly.

Last month, for example, the two countries side-stepped a clash. The Chinese, already upset by Pan American World Airways' resumption of flights to Taiwan last June, threatened to withhold authorization for a second airline, Northwest Orient, to open a route to Peking because it also flew to Taiwan. The Americans could have retaliated by denying the Chinese state airline its route to the United States. But nothing happened because neither side wanted its air links severed just before the Presidential visit.

Mr. Reagan, who will arrive in Peking Thursday, is scheduled to sign a tax treaty, which Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan initiated last month, and a new cultural accord that merely extends the old one. A treaty on in-

vestment will not be completed on time, but Secretary of State George P. Shultz held out hope last week that a snagged treaty on nuclear cooperation might be ready despite Chinese objections to Washington's demand for safeguards on the use of nuclear fuel in any American-built reactor. A Western diplomat estimated that progress on both had been accelerated by at least a year because of Mr. Reagan's visit.

Furthermore, the President's face-to-face acquaintance with the Chinese leadership seems bound to encourage further efforts to improve relations at lower levels, not least because the television and press coverage inside China will signal cautious Chinese bureaucrats that cooperation is authorized.

Just as President Reagan will find a successful China trip useful to his standing on foreign affairs, so do the Chinese have a stake in accommodating him. As a Presidential candidate four years ago, Mr. Reagan outraged them by promising to restore some kind of official ties with Taiwan. The Chinese have watched his views change in the White House. Now they have a further opportunity to influence one of the last leading American politicians to accept the one-China premise of diplomatic relations with the mainland.

The two countries have traveled a rocky road since Mr. Reagan took office 39 months ago. Relations soured over continuing American arms sales to Taiwan despite a vaguely worded communiqué in August 1982 that pledged the United States to gradually reduce such deliveries. Other occasions for friction have included the defection of the tennis star Hu Na, a dispute over Chinese textile imports and the slow approval of sales of American technology.

Mr. Reagan dispatched various members of his Cabinet to repair the frayed relationship. The climate was chillier during the visit of Mr. Shultz in January 1983. It began warming up after Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige promised the Chinese last May that the White House would facilitate the transfer of technology by moving China, hitherto treated little better than the Soviet bloc, to the category of friendly nonaligned nation. When Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger came to Peking last September, China's leader Deng Xiaoping bestowed his approval on an exchange of visits between Prime Minister Zhao and Mr. Reagan.

### Taiwan Still an Issue

The Chinese leadership has thus come to terms with Mr. Reagan. The President did more than accept the policy of a single China. He also expressed gratitude in letters to the Chinese leaders for their new strategy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan. Mr. Reagan has dispensed much of what remained of the chill by offering to sell China weapons and to make available more advanced technology for its modernization drive.

This does not mean that the Chinese have dropped all their complaints. An article in the current issue of the Chinese magazine Foreign Affairs suggested that Mr. Deng and his colleagues would press Mr. Reagan on arms sales to Taiwan, which the Chinese assert exceed quantitative and qualitative levels set in the 1982 joint communiqué. Mr. Reagan may also hear demands for more technology, including nuclear power equipment, and objections from China, one of the world's most protectionist nations, that the United States restricts the access of Chinese goods to its markets.

In general, the Chinese have reason to respect and like Mr. Reagan. They consider him tough but sincere. Mr. Reagan's antipathy toward the Soviet Union made it easier for Peking to back out of its earlier policy of strategic cooperation with Washington, identify itself with the third world and agree to open talks with the Soviet Union, because the Chinese felt that Mr. Reagan would shoulder the burden of checking what they see as Soviet "adventurism" around the world.

The duration of the new stability will become evident after Mr. Reagan flies home and follow-up efforts are made to strengthen such underpinnings as American investment in China, which by Chinese estimates total \$676 million. If old frictions erupt during Mr. Reagan's meetings with Mr. Deng and Mr. Zhao, the Chinese will probably be too polite to say so before he leaves. This week at least, the grudges that existed before and may well again are likely to be swept under a red carpet.



President Reagan leaving for the West Coast on his way to China last week. Hu Dingyi, deputy chief of mission at the Chinese Embassy in Washington, waves goodbye.



# The Nation

## The Economy Takes Another Leap Forward

The strength of the economy has once again confounded predictions. The nation's gross national product, the Commerce Department reported last week, grew at a surprising 8.3 percent annual rate in January, February and March, well above the 5 percent of the last quarter of 1983.

Only the day before the report was issued, many economists were hailing as good news less comprehensive statistics, such as the smallest gain in seven months in personal income (0.5 percent in March) and the steepest one-month decline in new housing starts (26.5 percent) since 1959. Though much of the drop in construction was attributed to bad weather, analysts said it also reflected rising interest rates and, like the personal income figure, a cooling of the economic expansion. That, they said, should help ease the financial markets' active concern that expansion-driven inflation will reignite.

The G.N.P. report gave no reassurances about the future. But it did demonstrate that so far, it's not to

worry. The G.N.P. deflator, the broadest gauge of underlying inflation, showed an annual rate of 4.1 percent in the first quarter of the year — a hardly measurable change from the end of 1983's 3.9 percent. Wall Street remained unimpressed by the figure, and by Administration reassurances that its forecasts are for more moderate, and sustainable, growth this summer. The markets' anxious state had been demonstrated earlier in the week. A two-day advance, after weeks of slump, was snuffed out by unsubstantiated rumors that the Federal Reserve Board chairman, Paul A. Volcker, was resigning.

## Allegations Against Bechtel

Those who worry that the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act goes too far and those who say it doesn't go far enough — particularly if not enforced — have a new case to gnaw on. The 1977 law makes it a crime for American companies to bribe foreign officials to win business. According to Justice Department officials, a Federal grand jury in Washington is investigating allegations by a former



Ex-Nazi Party member Roland Wayne Wood (right) leaving courthouse in Winston-Salem, N.C., with his brother following acquittal last week.

employee of the Bechtel Power Corporation that a company agent gave more than \$100,000 in payments and gifts to South Korean officials in connection with two contracts, worth more than \$100 million each, for the design of two nuclear power plants.

During 1978 and 1979, the time in question, Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger were senior executives at the Bechtel Group Inc., the giant San Francisco-based company that is a leader in nuclear power plant construction, and at Bechtel Power. According to Thomas Flynn,

a company spokesman who said last week the company had never authorized improper or illegal gifts or payments, neither Mr. Shultz nor Mr. Weinberger had "detailed involvement in Bechtel's Korea work."

## The Acquittals in Greensboro

Organizers from the Communist Workers Party called it a "Death to the Klan" rally, but before the 1979 march in Greensboro, N.C., was over, five of the demonstrators lay

dead or dying. At a state trial the next year, six Ku Klux Klansmen and American Nazi Party members were acquitted in the shootings. Last week, after testimony from 120 witnesses, videotapes of the gunplay and evidence linking metal fragments from the victims' bodies with ammunition associated with the defendants, a Federal jury came to a similar conclusion.

Defense lawyers argued that their clients fired in self defense; government attorneys insisted that the Klansmen and Nazi members instigated the 88-second gunbattle. But the trial may have turned on a provision of the Federal civil rights law under which the nine defendants — five of whom were acquitted of murder and rioting in the 1980 trial — were charged. It requires prosecutors to prove the men were present at the rally because of racial hatred rather than patriotism, as they claimed.

Last week's verdict will not end the legal proceedings in the matter, however. The victims' relatives have filed a \$48 million lawsuit, scheduled for trial in August, charging that Federal, state and local officials conspired with the Klansmen and Nazi party members to violate the rights of those killed at the rally.

Justices didn't say whether they would accelerate the schedule for argument. That makes a decision before Election Day unlikely.

At issue is a provision of the Federal election law, twice struck down by lower courts, that limits spending by so-called independent political action committees — that is, PACs that are not tied to a particular candidate's campaign organization — to \$1,000. Though the High Court in 1976 laid out the principle that limits on campaign spending are restrictions on speech that is protected by the First Amendment, the F.E.C. and the Democrats want the High Court to declare the \$1,000 ceiling unconstitutional. They argue that unlimited committee spending distorts the purpose and effect of public financing of Presidential campaigns.

In the matter of political action committee spending, the Democrats have been distinctly the under dogs. In 1980, each of the two major party nominees received \$28.4 million in Federal money; \$27,773 was independently spent to advocate President Carter's re-election, and \$10.6 million, or 383 times more, was spent in support of Ronald Reagan.

Caroline Rand Heron, Carlyle C. Douglas, and Michael Wright

## No Fast Relief For Democrats

Democrats looking for some help soon with their party's campaign money disadvantage had their hopes dimmed though not definitively dashed last week by the Supreme Court.

The Court agreed to decide whether political action committees can keep on spending, as much as they want in support of Presidential candidates of their choice. But the

## A Correction

An article in *The Week in Review* on April 1 incorrectly described the source of an assessment of Navy budget needs by Adm. James D. Watkins, the Chief of Naval Operations. The admiral's assessment was in a classified memorandum to Navy planning officers.

## A New Information Network Could Help Police Link 'Serial' Killings

# Stopping Them Before They Kill Again and Again and Again

By ROBERT LINDSEY

LOS ANGELES — Nine days ago in a small New Hampshire town, the death of Christopher Bernard Wilder ended what Federal agents said was a bloody cross-country odyssey.

During a period of 48 days, they said, Mr. Wilder, a millionaire Florida race car driver, kidnapped at least 11 girls and young women in eight states, from California to New York. Four were murdered and four are missing and believed dead; three survived. The climax of the manhunt for Mr. Wilder, who either committed suicide or shot himself accidentally as the police closed in on him, attracted national attention.

But law enforcement officials say that he was an anomaly among those repeat killers they call "serial murderers," who, stealthful and mobile, often remain undetected for years as they kill again and again. This summer, they say, they expect to activate the nation's first system designed to detect and track such killers.

Only a few days before Mr. Wilder was cornered, a jury in Texas convicted a 43-year-old drifter, Henry Lee Lucas, of murdering a young woman who was one of perhaps 300 women, girls and men whom Mr. Lucas said he had killed over a decade or more.

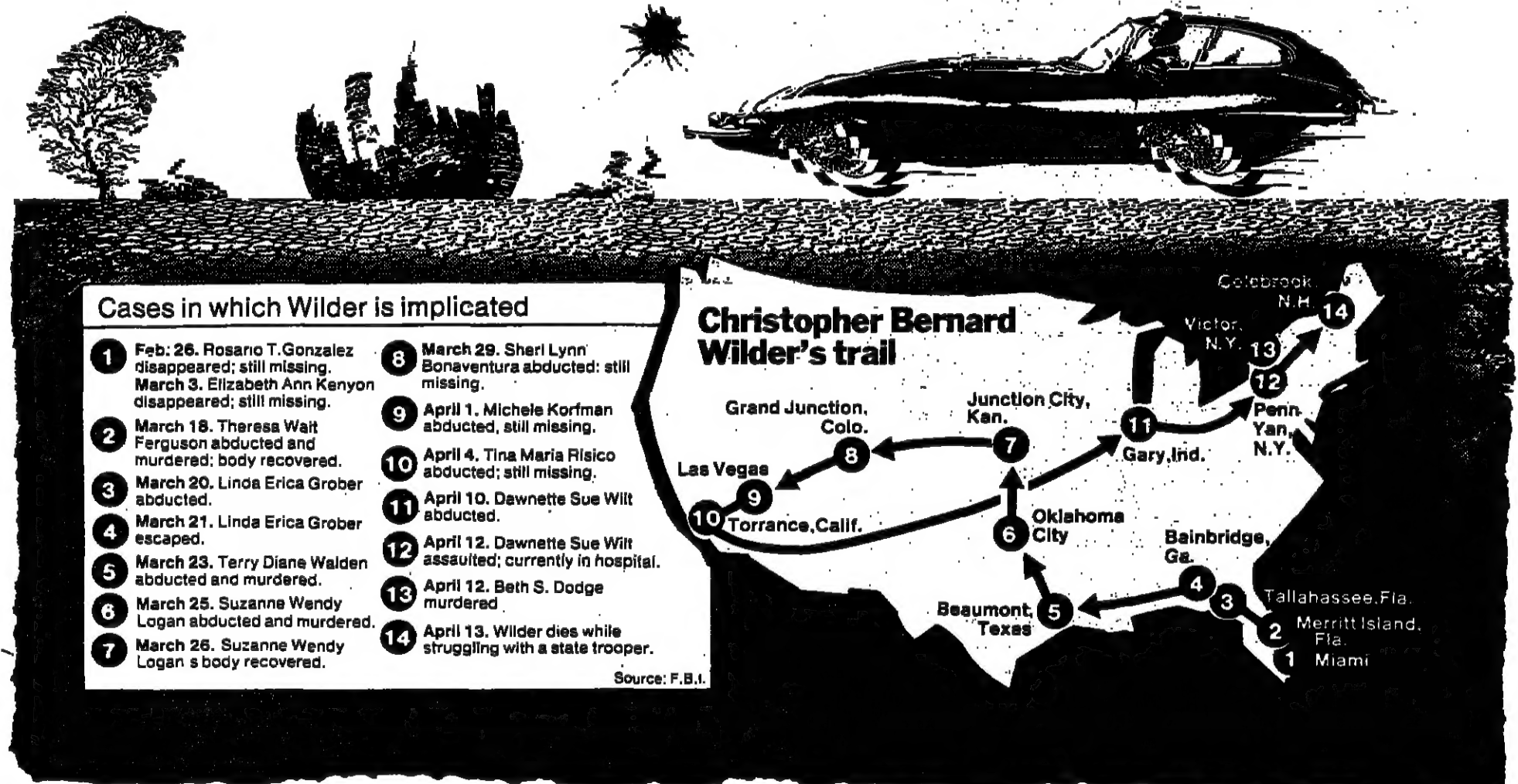
In suburban Seattle, police say that at least 20 young women have been murdered by the same killer or killers during the past 20 months. In Salem, Ore., detectives say seven young women have been murdered by the same hand since 1981.

Homicide experts cannot prove whether serial murders are on the increase because there are few data from the past upon which to base comparisons. The phenomenon has generally not been recognized as a discrete law enforcement problem until recently. The experts say investigators in the past may have failed to connect unsolved murders committed by the same person in scattered communities. Still, detectives who are now concerned with the problem say that they are convinced there has been an increase.

"When I was working homicide in the 50's, we were closing close to 90 percent of our cases," said Pierce Brooks, a retired Los Angeles police detective and the prime mover in the establishment of a national tracking system for serial murderers. "Today, it's a little bit over 70 percent; you're getting more and more unsolved murders, more stranger-to-stranger murders."

According to court records, at least 17 men in this country have been accused of killing 10 or more people during the past five years; of these, at least nine have been accused of killing 20 or more.

Of course, no one knows how many murders have been committed by serial killers who are still at large. Based on an analysis of unsolved murders around the nation, Robert O. Heck of the United States Justice Department estimates that more than 35 serial murderers are operating now and that they will kill hundreds of Americans this year, half of them under the age of 18. Investigators say they can only guess at the causes for what



seems to be an increase in such crimes. They suggest that one factor has been the development of the nation's interstate highway system, which has given murderers the ability to move swiftly from city to city.

Noting that most cases of serial murder also involve sexual assault and often mutilation, some investigators speculate that the apparent increase may somehow be linked to changes in laws and attitudes regarding sex over the last 20 years. They argue that such changes have resulted in, among other things, greater tolerance of prostitution and pornography, including some pornography that depicts violent attacks upon women or children engaged in sexual acts.

In the past, policemen in widely scattered cities lacked the means to share information about unsolved murders, says Mr. Brooks, who frequently leaves his retirement home in Oregon to act as a consultant on mur-

der investigations around the nation. "When I was working homicide in L.A., I started to realize there were killers out there who wandered," he said. "When I had one of these cases, I'd go down to the city library and look at the out-of-town papers; I made two cases that way, but I knew it wasn't enough."

In 1980, after serving as consultant to the Atlanta Police Department during its investigation of the disappearance of more than 25 black children, he contacted Mr. Heck and others in the Justice Department. "I said, 'If we're going to catch these people, we're going to need a centralized system; there's got to be a better way.'"

After three years of planning, the system, referred to as Vicap, for Violent Criminal Apprehension Program, is scheduled to begin operating this summer at the Federal Bureau of Investigation academy in Quantico, Va. Police departments will send to Quantico standardized reports

on murders in their communities involving sexual trauma, mutilation or dismemberment; missing children and adults where kidnapping or other foul play is suspected; and certain kinds of violent assaults in which the victims survive. The data will be entered into a computer and homicide specialists will then look for common threads. "It's going to save lives," Mr. Brooks predicted. "They're not just killing pretty young ladies, they're killing kids too, by the thousands."

In a related development last week, the Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention awarded a \$3.3 million grant to establish a National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. "They're coming at two different ends of a problem," a spokesman said. "While Vicap is aimed at tracking down the offender, this (project) will help parents and law enforcement get children back."

## A Big Loss Last Week in Missouri Increased Hart's Deficit

# Once Again, It Looks Easy for Mondale

By PHIL GAILLEY

WASHINGTON — After grinding through the major primaries of the nation's industrial belt, where voter judgments were sometimes as volatile as the winter, the Democratic campaign temporarily settled down last week to spring's easy rhythms. While Gary Hart fell back on the Western base he was still predicting would revive his Presidential bid, the resurrected frontrunner, Walter F. Mondale, began moving in on one of Mr. Hart's more successful themes — leadership for the future. The Rev. Jesse Jackson pressed his search for that elusive rainbow coalition, even as controversy generated by the statements of one of his supporters, Black Muslim Minister Louis Farrakhan, continued to follow his candidacy.

The one contest of the week, the Missouri caucuses, turned out to be a political waltz for Mr. Mondale. The former Vice President won a lopsided victory, about 60 percent of the vote, in Harry Truman's home state. But Senator Hart, with a tenacity worthy of a Missouri mule, continued to insist that he would win the nomination on

the first ballot, no matter how many of the remaining contests he loses. On the strength of an energized black vote in St. Louis and Kansas City, where his supporters overflowed some caucus sites, Mr. Jackson ran a surprisingly close 16 percent to Mr. Hart's 20 percent.

Mr. Jackson's appeal to black voters shows no signs of ebbing, and political analysts say Louisiana, which holds its primary on May 5, is one of his most promising states. But there were two reminders last week of the difficulties he faces. A group of prominent black politicians met in Birmingham to plan a strategy for helping their candidate, Mr. Mondale, confront the "Jackson factor" and to make sure that Mr. Jackson does not become the sole spokesman for black concerns at the convention in San Francisco. Meanwhile in Ohio, Mr. Jackson was looking for the white support he hasn't yet won much of, pointedly reminding Gov. Richard Celeste, who has not yet endorsed a Presidential candidate, of his political debt to the black voters who helped elect him in 1982.

The halftime after the Pennsylvania primary two weeks ago has served to focus two key facts about the candidates' situation. One is that the first phase came

close to exhausting both the two leading contenders. Another is the delegate arithmetic.

Mr. Hart, who has won only one of the six contests since April 3, last week continued to press himself to the point of fatigue and hoarseness.

## A New Battle Plan

He still speaks of "new ideas" and "a new generation of leadership," but the themes appear to have lost their freshness and force. At the same time, his electability argument — that he would be the strongest Democrat against President Reagan — is beginning to come into question. The latest Gallup Poll shows Mr. Hart's strength against Mr. Reagan declining. Freely acknowledging how much they need some big victories, Hart strategists met with their candidate late last week, and devised a new battle plan that calls for him to sharpen his attacks on Mr. Mondale, just as the former Vice President toughened his after his defeat in New Hampshire.

Mr. Mondale, who holds a better than two-to-one delegate lead over Mr. Hart, campaigned only two days last week, using his time to rest and refine his campaign

themes. He was more like the confident candidate of pre-New Hampshire days — relaxed, witty and all but ignoring his Democratic opponents as he stepped up his attacks on President Reagan. In a speech at the University of Cincinnati that aides said would set the tone for the final weeks of the race, Mr. Mondale appeared to be reaching out to Mr. Hart's constituency by saying that the country needs "a leader with his eyes on the next century" and offering himself as that leader.

There are only three important days left on the campaign calendar — May 5, when Texas holds its caucuses and Louisiana its primary; three days later, when Ohio, Indiana, Maryland and North Carolina vote, and June 5, the last primary day, when California, New Jersey and three other states go to the polls. So far, Mr. Hart's successes in the West have been in small states. If a Western strategy is going to work, he will need to bag the region's two biggest trophies, Texas and California. But even would be to prevent Mr. Mondale from locking up the nomination before the convention, giving Mr. Hart a chance to try to bring around uncommitted delegates.

Mr. Mondale's campaign aides, however, seemed confident that he can survive any defeats short of a Hart landslide in the remaining key contests. "This campaign has survived political pneumonia," said one. "I think the worst that can happen to us now is a case of the flu."







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## A Season Reborn

Whining reluctance, winter finally relaxed its grip on our corner of America and yielded to the festivals of renewal and liberation that the West's main religions mark on related calendars.

Labor is the word aptly attached to birth; rebirth is at least as arduous. That is true of the work of repairing the ravages of storms and of preparing for new crops. It is also true of the effort to renew hope and love.

Religions perceive an important model for humans in nature's reawakening. They invite the celebrant to reflect not on the sterility of winter but on the potential that lay buried beneath its lifelessness. In the earth beneath the snow, under the bark of barren trees, deep in waters below ice, new

life was always astir awaiting the warming sun.

It is often harder to perceive the beating heart that promises a new birth and better life in the human world, now gripped by the vision of a permanent winter produced by nuclear weapons. Designed to hold enemies in check, they now seem to threaten self-destruction.

But it is possible to dwell too much on these nocturnal horrors, the fear of which is not always the best deterrent. As the religions insist, there must be seasons dedicated to the renewal of life, the promise of liberation and growth, the brilliance of creation, the astounding energy of a newborn smile. These are the promises of the festivals, of the return of spring.

## Caging the Chemical Monster

With an election in the offing and no progress to report on arms control, the White House has flamboyantly proposed a treaty on chemical weapons that the Russians denounced before they even read it. But the treaty is an important step forward, and the prospects for controlling this abhorrent form of warfare may not be as bleak as they seem.

The drawn-out negotiations at Geneva have gained new impetus from Iraq's use of mustard and nerve gas in its war with Iran. President Reagan and his top aides also suspect, more dubiously, that chemical agents of some kind have been used by Vietnam. In any case, if other third-world countries resort to these easily made poisons, chemicals might quickly proliferate.

The 1925 Geneva convention, which Iraq signed, prohibits only the "first use" of chemical weapons. Few nations are likely to accept an outright ban on production and even possession until the United States and the Soviet Union lead the way.

The treaty that Vice President Bush carried to Geneva would require the destruction of all chemical weapon stockpiles and production facilities, and would arrange for stringent inspection. The Soviet Union said in February it would permit inspection of stockpile destruction. That doesn't go nearly far enough, but given the Russians' historic aversion to on-site inspectors, it's an important beginning.

The critical issue is how much inspection is needed to support confidence in a treaty. Every chemical factory is a potential violator, but every factory does not need to be under constant surveil-

lance. The Reagan Administration prudently calls for some regular inspections and also for the right to mount ad hoc visits. Too many such visits would probably strike the Russians as provocative, but some are probably essential.

There's much to be said for weaning the Russians from their habits of secrecy and, for the sake of other arms agreements, teaching them that foreign intrusions can be benign. But the vexed history of the 1975 treaty banning biological weapons offers an argument against being too flexible.

That treaty failed to provide for on-site inspection. When a mysterious outbreak of anthrax occurred in the Urals city of Sverdlovsk in 1979, the Carter Administration suspected an escape of anthrax germs from a presumed biological warfare plant. The Russians insisted the disease was caused by tainted meat. On-site inspection would have resolved the suspicions that linger to this day.

For the moment, the Russians seem trapped between propaganda and policy. Eager to deny the merits of any Reagan initiative, they began by having their Tass news service denounce the draft treaty as "obviously unacceptable." But their delegation to the Geneva talks said it would be given "serious study."

When they look again, and reflect on how they might recast the proposition as their initiative, the Russians should look hard at their own state interest in expanding their February proposal into a reasonable degree of verification. Between a world free of chemical weapons and one with Tabun in every arsenal, the choice should be as clear in Moscow as in Washington.

## Literary New York

Walk the streets of New York City and there's hardly a sidewalk that hasn't known the foot of a famous writer.

To wander in Greenwich Village, for example, is to see the neighborhood in which John Masefield made a living washing saloon floors. Twenty blocks north, in Chelsea, is Edith Wharton country. Cross the Brooklyn Bridge and enter the land of Walt Whitman and Hart Crane. On the Bronx's Grand Concourse one breathes the air breathed by Edgar Allan Poe.

Sometimes the famous writer's home still exists: If it does, it's apt to bear a plaque.

Now, although the year is only just begun, there are already three more New York dwellings eligible for plaquehood and literary walking tours. Edward

I. Koch, author of the best-selling "Mayor," has joined Henry James as a Washington Place author. In Hollis, Queens, stands the home of Mario M. Cuomo, author of "Diaries of Mario M. Cuomo: The Campaign for Governor." Now also deserving recognition are the Manhattan digs of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, where they completed his 12th book, "Loyalties."

Meanwhile, out in Hempstead, L.I. — not exactly New York City but only a train ride away — there's another house that may someday wear a plaque. It will, that is, if Senator Alfonse D'Amato does indeed write the tentatively titled "The Making of a Supervisor."

And to think it was Boston they called the "Athens of America."

## Topics

### Through the Motions

#### Running, Running

A Manhattan toy store named the Last Wound-Up sells a pair of disembodied shoes that keep on walking, walking until they wind down. What a fitting symbol of the 1984 Presidential primary campaign.

After 24 sets of caucuses and 15 primaries, the three remaining Democratic candidates are turning into automatons. With little to argue about in the way of issues, they are plodding on. Can there be much doubt that, by June 5 and the California and New Jersey primaries, they'll be groping to find New New Ideas and Ever Rarer Beef?

The formal campaign is a month shorter than in 1980, to be sure, but that's cold comfort to glazed candidates, reporters and political professionals. And to foreigners, accustomed to campaigns that end in six or eight weeks, not months, the ordeal is purely astonishing.

David Steel, leader of the British Liberal Party, has been traveling with the Gary Hart campaign and remarked on the phenomenon to David Shribman of The Times in these terms: "It's a form of cruelty to human animals to make them go through this month after month. In America you call it running for office, where we call it standing for office. Perhaps these phrases have larger meanings."

#### Flower Children

When the kids on a certain block in Brooklyn see the yellow daffodils blooming in a certain front yard these days, they ask the gardener about sunflowers.

Their interest in flowers revolves around the mammoth six-foot Russian sunflowers in her street-front garden. In late summer she decapitates the sunflowers and gives the heads to the kids, who shake out the seeds and roast them. They claim they're the best tasting sunflower seeds in Brooklyn, if not the world.

That modest investment yields the gardener a valuable benefit: protection of her flowers through the spring and summer. Front-yard flowers don't last long in front of most city houses. The woman's neighbor complains that his crocuses are seized by thieves the moment they dare to unfurl a bloom. And the morning after his wife planted a flourishing geranium, he found nothing but a hole in the ground.

The kids who like sunflower seeds have their owner's permission to break the hands of anyone who bothers her flowers. When she comes home from work, the kids report attempted snatches and how the trespassers were run off the block. Then they always ask, "Where are the sunflowers? When you gonna give us the seeds?" Showing them seedlings, she

replies, "Not for three or four months; in the meantime, how about a daffodil?"

#### Specialists

When we were 8 years old, Mother taught us how to sweep: You use the broom to make a neat pile of dirt, hold the dustpan to the floor, choke up on the broom and shove the dirt onto the pan. Then put the broom down, open a trash bag, place the dustpan inside and shake it, hard.

Mother never considered it more than a one-kid job. Neither did we.

At the Transit Authority, sweeping subway tracks requires a crew of five. That's how many were working their way through one station on a recent evening. Numbers 1 and 2 pushed brooms to create piles of trash. Number 3 stood by to push the piles into a shovel held by Number 4. Number 5 was in charge of a plastic bag; he carried it along and opened it periodically to receive deposits from the shovel.

All five seemed to enjoy the work. The bag man and shovel man, especially, had plenty of time to stand around and chat until the sweepers finished new piles. Sometimes all five would gather to share a joke.

Mother wouldn't have understood. But then, she was as old-fashioned as a 15-cent subway token.

## Letters

### Reagan's 'Challenge in China' Is Firmness on Taiwan

To the Editor:

"The U.S. must decide whether its interests lie with 1.2 billion people or 18 million." That, to John Ehrlichman, is the question regarding U.S. support for Taiwan in the context of U.S.-China relations ("Reagan's Challenge in China," Op-Ed March 30). Mr. Ehrlichman's simplistic view should prove refutable by an exercise of our rational and moral faculties.

Current U.S. support for Taiwan constitutes no undue interference in China's internal affairs. The Taiwan Relations Act merely seeks to insure that the people of Taiwan not be forced to merge with the mainland. Toward this end it supports the viability of the island through unfettered international trade and an adequate self-defense capability.

Granted, any such U.S. support may be seen as an interference in China's affairs, and to that extent does not technically agree with the principles of international law. Nevertheless, few countries would claim in good faith that the concepts of international law cannot be counterbalanced by concerns such as national interests and human rights. The U.S. has been willing in the past to intercede in other countries' affairs to safeguard its national interests (e.g., Grenada) or the rights of an oppressed people (e.g., the trade embargo on Poland).

By the same token, the rights of the 18 million people on Taiwan to self-determination and to their preferred life style, mode of economy and form of government merit U.S. support.

Taiwan has prospered by encouraging individual initiative. It enjoys one of the highest standards of living in Asia — its per capita income is 10 times that of the mainland. Most important, it has made significant strides toward American-style democracy. Withdrawal of U.S. support

would chill further efforts to pursue on Taiwan the very ideals that have made the U.S. the leader of the free world.

Mr. Ehrlichman assumes that U.S.-Chinese relations would improve dramatically once Taiwan is left in the lurch. He overlooks other constraints — at least as significant as the one he cites.

Just as the U.S. wants to play China against the Soviet Union, China wants to play the U.S. against the Soviet Union and the third world as well. It would be unrealistic to expect that the Chinese would opt for greater military cooperation with the U.S. even if it were to abandon Taiwan.

In the area of trade, where the Taiwan problem is least obtrusive, U.S. businessmen have found that China is not the lucrative market that they had hoped for, simply because it lacks the foreign reserves to become such. They would stand to lose from U.S. abandonment of Taiwan.

The reunification of China is a concern of every Chinese, in mainland China, Taiwan or elsewhere, inter-

ested in the destiny of the race. Yet if reunification is to take place, there must be solid guarantees that it be carried out in a principled and mutually beneficial manner. One such guarantee would exist were China to evolve toward a more open economy and more democratic government.

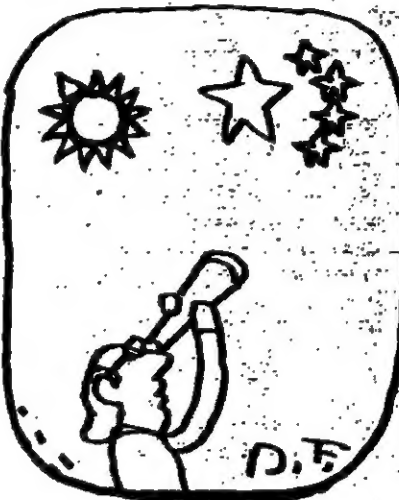
On the other hand, to abandon Taiwan now to the vicissitudes of an unstable regime in Peking would expose the people of Taiwan to undue risk of either a military confrontation with China or substantial subjugation to Peking's political might (as the experience of the Tibetan people illustrates). Such wholesale abandonment, therefore, cannot redound to the long-term benefit of the Chinese people as a whole or to the security of the Asia-Pacific basin.

By continuing to support Taiwan, the U.S. can play a stabilizing role without unduly interfering in China's affairs. China, on the other hand, has too much to gain from U.S. capital and technology to permit this U.S. role to jeopardize its relations with the U.S.

We submit that for the U.S. to remain steadfast in this valuable role is truly "Reagan's Challenge in China," and we urge the President and the American people not to retreat from it.

WILFRED K. CHOW  
BING-CHENG KANG  
New York, April 16, 1984

The writers are students at the Columbia University School of Law.



### U.S. President Through Russian Eyes

To the Editor:

"After several days in Moscow," Olin Robison writes that the Russians are "angry and bitter" at Ronald Reagan and his Administration ("Gauging Moscow's Mood," Op-Ed April 15). Based on this brief visit, we are treated not only to a psychological analysis of how the Russians react to Ronald Reagan but also to an analysis of foreign policy, arms control, missile deployment and even an evaluation of the Soviet leaders, Chernenko and Gorbachev.

I was at Moscow State University for a four-month semester in 1983. I claim no expertise on the basis of my visit, but I must say that among the Russians I met the reactions to Ronald Reagan were a very far cry from anger or bitterness.

Reactions depended on the groups and individuals with whom I spoke. University professors treated Reagan diatribes with disdain and contempt. Graduate students as well as under-

graduates were amused and joked about some of his extreme remarks about the "evil empire." In many of the Russian homes I visited, people were perplexed that a person as exalted as an American President could resort to such "disgraceful and slanderous statements about our great country." Taxi drivers whom I asked how they felt about President Reagan would commonly shrug, as if to say, "Who cares?" Many other Russians dismissed Reagan's remarks as political rhetoric.

Furthermore, many Russians I met were cynical about their own leaders, no less than Americans cynical about theirs. But even among those who were cynical, there was a common thread: a deep respect for the principles of freedom, democracy and private property. It is not a perfect society, but progress is being made. The U.S. should continue its support of the people of Taiwan as set forth in the Taiwan Relations Act. The President, a man of principles, would not compromise our moral strength.

MARTIN L. LASATER  
Calabasas, Calif., April 8, 1984

### Canadian Reminders Of Acid Rain Imports

To the Editor:

In an April 8 letter, Edward P. Tryon suggested that weather reports include the pH of precipitation to let people know how much acid rain they are getting. When told how much rain or snow is under way, why shouldn't they also learn of the quality of what is coming down?

In Canada this is being done. Environment Canada, which provides weather information to the nation, issues acid rain data as well. Every Saturday, The Toronto Star uses this information on a weather map to chart the course of the previous week's clouds of acid deposition.

The map shows the major sources of Ontario's acid pollution and indicates the main direction the problem travels. Not surprisingly, it illustrates how American industries and power plants keep making a substantial, unwelcome contribution to our problem. In fact, roughly 50 percent of our acid rain and snow emanates from U.S. sources.

It's unlikely that a graphic portrayal such as this map would mean much to the Reagan Administration, which refuses to accept the heavy circumstantial evidence of the devastation acid rain is causing. But information like this could benefit, as Tryon says, a "concerned citizenry." Polls suggest that more than 60 percent of Americans are aware of acid rain, and a growing number agree that something should be done.

Surely in a democracy, particularly during an election year, the majority must count for something; they and everyone else could use a frequent reminder that their concern makes sense.

DAVID ISRAELSON  
Toronto, April 10, 1984

The writer is a member of The Toronto Star editorial board.

### How Did Hoover Know?

To the Editor:

On the April 15 presentation of "60 Minutes," Richard Nixon recalled that he was in a taxi without radio when news of President Kennedy's assassination broke. One-half to three-quarters of an hour later, at his apartment, he called J. Edgar Hoover. To Nixon's question whether the assassin was "one of those right-wing nuts," Hoover replied, "No, it was a Communist." How did he know so fast?

ELIZABETH A. CROAKE  
Mattituck, L.I., April 15, 1984

### Congress Is No Place for Lifetime Careers

To the Editor:

With the 22d Amendment to our Constitution, we put a limit on how many terms a person may serve as President of the United States. I believe the time has come to limit the number of terms a person may serve in the Congress.

Such a limit would go a long way in dis-entrenching "Senate" and "House" members from service positions, in which the interests of this Republic and its people have become secondary to the members' own interests, including their re-election.

I propose we consider a constitutional amendment that would limit senators to two terms (12 years) and representatives to five terms (10 years). It is ridiculous to presume that the majority of the same 535-odd people re-elected year after year are better qualified to foster the Republic and the public's interests than other qualified citizens from a population approaching 235 million.

WALTER MORRIS-HALE  
Associate Professor of Government  
Smith College  
Northampton, Mass., April 14, 1984

### The Single Primary With a Built-In Run-Off

To the Editor:

An innovation in voting technique could heal the Democratic Party split concerning run-off elections and minority voting rights. Jesse Jackson opposes run-off elections, feeling they discriminate against blacks, while Walter Mondale supports the run-offs, arguing that it is important for candidates to be approved by a majority. The idea of preventing discrimination by examining elections on a

case-by-case basis [editorial April 12] would be burdensome and open to political bias.

A different compromise is possible using the method of approval balloting. Voters would cast ballots indicating approval or disapproval of each candidate; the candidate with the greatest number of approvals would win. No run-offs would be needed.

MICHAEL SEGAL  
St. Louis, April 12, 1984

### Naval Lesson for the Nuclear Power Industry

To the Editor:

The general supportive thrust of your editorial "Does Nuclear Power Have a Future?" (April 13) hits the mark, but I take exception to your statement that "the present type of nuclear reactor is a dinosaur that has surely breathed its last."

Just look at the long operational and safety record of the nuclear Navy with its water reactors. If the Navy can manage a complex technology and convert ordinary seamen into nuclear technicians, so can the utility industry. What the industry needs are approved

standardized designs with more appropriate Navy-type design margin, regulatory stability and, most of all, adequate construction financing.

With the railroad network ultimately limiting transport of the tremendous quantities of coal required to meet future electric generation needs, and with sky-high costs of the new renewable energy technologies, only nuclear and coal, together, will provide the electric energy required to support continued growth of the U.S. economy.

DANIEL GANS JR.  
Milton, Mass., April 13, 1984



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WASHINGTON, April 21 — There was a lot of talk around here this Holy Week about politics and prayer, but not much about the suffering of the human race or what we should be praying for.

It's a little confusing. The White House bully-pulpit is more bully than pulpit. The politicians argue endlessly here about abortion, contraception and the sanctity of human life one day, and then pay little attention to the "sanctity of life" the next day when they're sending troops into the Middle East or Central America, where children are being killed even before they know the meaning of prayer.

The question of power, of course, is an old American dilemma. This continent was conquered by men who had the Bible in one hand and a long rifle in the other. Nobody argues now that you can throw a Bible at a tank, but there is a very serious argument about the power of ideas versus the power of guns and missiles. And at least once a year at Easter and the

Passover time we should consider the power of faith and hope.

We are engaged now, and for over half a century have been engaged, in a dispute with the Soviet Union over the philosophy of the American Revolution of 1776 and that of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Even in this secular age, we should not forget what it is that divides us from the Russians and remember the religious roots and convictions of the Founders of the Republic.

They insisted that the individual did not belong to the state, but had a personal and immortal soul that should be beyond the dictates of any totalitarian regime.

On that principle, the Founding Fathers established a constitutional government that was under and not above the law. This was then, and is still now, the most powerful and popular political idea in the world, from Poland to Central America — and sometimes the forgotten principle in Washington.

A substantial current of opinion holds that President Reagan's visit to China next week will be only an election-year tourist trip. To Chinese working for modernization and hoping for a more democratic alternative to the Soviet political model, however, it means far more.

To them, the United States-China relationship seems troublingly fragile. They understand the tremendous pressure being exerted on Deng Xiaoping's reform faction by party conservatives who oppose the open door to the West, the economic reforms and the recent improvement in the status of intellectuals.

The Chinese people are used to sudden policy shifts, which have included the switch to friendship with America after 23 years of vilification of its "capitalist imperialism." The five years of normal relations are very short compared with the long history of the Chinese Communist Party's close relationship with the Soviet Union. Despite today's poor China-Soviet relations, the Chinese know that politically, ideologically and economically China has much more in common with the Soviet Union than it does with America.

To these people, the Reagan visit represents an affirmation of Mr. Deng's plans to modernize China and a welcome victory over the conservatives who used the recent campaign against "spiritual pollution" as an opportunity to attack economic liberalization and the "bourgeois thought" said to have entered China through its open door.

The visit is likely to influence the lives of ordinary Chinese much more than it will those of ordinary Americans. At the very least, it will temporarily weaken the voice of party leaders opposing "bourgeois" influences, and will loosen restrictions on contacts with foreigners. Even if no major agreements are signed and the visit consists of little more than the usual banquets, toasts and public embraces, it will be an opportunity for Mr. Reagan to help strengthen the hand of the reformers.

Chinese and American television coverage of Mr. Reagan viewing the impressive results of the new economic policies could show the modernization program as successful and stable and boost business relations. Furthermore, as Mr. Reagan exerts his well-known charm on the Chinese people, he will confirm the favorable impression many younger Chinese already have of America.

More important, he could improve America's image among some officials now in their 50's. Many were trained by visiting Soviet experts or went to the Soviet Union to study when they were young (more than 10,000 conservative military officers are in this group). These people will inherit power before it passes to the

Liang Heng and his wife, Judith Shapiro, are co-authors of "Son of the Revolution."

## Reagan In China: 1. Effect

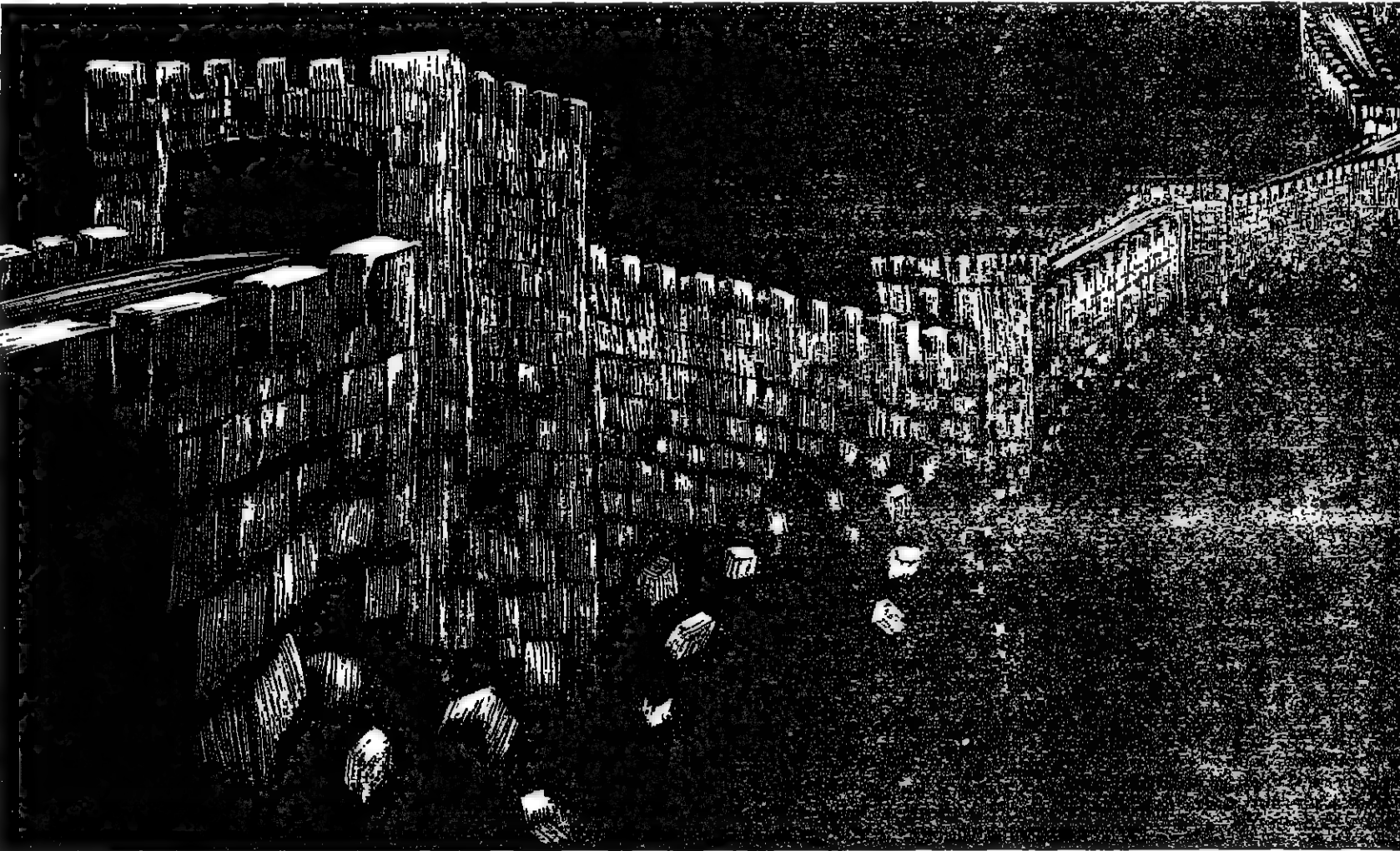
By Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro

younger, Western-oriented generation, and it will be many years before those trained in the West can be expected to have a major impact on policy-making and ideological questions. Without a concerted effort to make strides in American-Chinese relations now, there is a real danger that they could worsen after Mr. Deng dies.

Mr. Deng says he expects to live less than five years. During this time, he must rid the party of many of the diehard ideologues who joined during the Cultural Revolution, deal with the younger generation's "crisis of belief" in the party and socialism by combating party corruption and proving that socialism can provide a reasonably good standard of living, and protect his modernization program against opponents. In this race for

time, a strong American-Chinese relationship is crucial. The more dealings China has with the West and the more stable its economic policies, the greater will be the number of Chinese who have some understanding of Western society and are unwilling to return to an emphasis on ideological orthodoxy and class struggle. These people will be China's hope that the two kinds of conservatives, the xenophobic Maoist radicals and those nostalgic for the pro-Soviet 50's, will be unable to muster support for a comeback after Mr. Deng's death.

China is in transition. Many reformers and younger intellectuals well know the unhappiness brought by Leninist totalitarianism, which has meshed so well with Chinese feudalism and the hierarchical tradition of obedience to authority. Their openness toward exploring cooperation with the West has been only somewhat diminished by their sense that their initial expectations of large-scale American support were too high and that the obstacles toward smooth relations are great. However, they could be pressured into cooling their warmth toward the West. For this reason, the hopes they place in the Reagan visit are greater than Americans can imagine. When it is over, they want to feel more confident that there will be no turning back from a Western-oriented, stable modernization program.



Jeff Dananger

## A New Antitrust Law

By Stuart E. Eizenstat

Antitrust decisions, like the myriad tax, regulatory and trade actions taken regularly by the Government, powerfully affect the health of particular industries — but none are made in a coordinated fashion. While serving well in most instances, antitrust principles have not adapted adequately to the intense world competition and mercantile policies facing our key industries.

Some tentative steps have been taken to meld antitrust policy with these new economic realities. The Justice Department's 1981 merger guidelines permit a more sophisticated look at the impact of mergers in the context of world market conditions. The Export Trading Act of 1982 provides limited antitrust immunity to encourage joint export efforts. A growing bipartisan consensus exists in Congress for extending antitrust protection to certain joint research projects.

But these are only half steps. We are moving toward an information economy in which many industries, as currently structured, cannot compete effectively with foreign firms. The Government should not protect them from world market forces but should help them restructure, and often downsize, with the least dislocation to themselves and their workers.

Current antitrust law cannot fully assist such an effort. While there has

long been a court-created "failing company" doctrine to permit approval of otherwise impermissible mergers, its harsh requirements can rarely be met. Congress should pass a "distressed industry" law to provide a more flexible test for mergers in these industries, recognizing that competition, the Magna Carta of antitrust law, is ultimately reduced as worldwide pressures depress our domestic industries.

Under this new law, the President would certify an industry as distressed upon the advice of all relevant Cabinet departments and a business-labor-government council. The test for certification would include the degree of idle productive capacity, profit and unemployment levels, and the change in the proportion of the market supplied by domestic producers. An industry adjustment plan to improve its competitiveness and an agreement to reduce trade barriers would be required. More favorable merger treatment should only be extended with concomitant industry commitments to modernization and to reduce trade barriers. Under LTV-Republic, the steel industry can continue to seek import restrictions.

Mergers in presidentially certified distressed industries would be measured not by the strict mathematical formula used for LTV-Republic but by the more flexible standard of whether any resulting loss in competition is outweighed by the merger's value in strengthening the industry's competitive position. In addition to the degree of concentration, the Justice Department and the courts would consider the advantages of any efficiencies from the merger, the anti-competitive alternatives and pledges to limit trade relief.

Such a new antitrust law, as part of a coordinated industrial strategy, would avoid the LTV-Republic confusion and help strengthen our declining industries.

## WASHINGTON

# The Easter Story

By James Reston

Why do we allow the Russians to set the terms of the international debate and do so on the question of missiles, which is the only thing they seem to know anything about? Especially when we have enough on both sides to blow up the world? Why not pay more respect to our own history and political and religious convictions?

President Lincoln worried about this long ago. We were, he said, "destitute of faith but terrified of skepticism." He was concerned that we paid too much attention to our fears.

"At what point," he asked in Springfield, Ill., on Jan. 27, 1837,

"shall we Americans expect the approach of danger?"

"By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step the ocean, and crush us at a blow? Never! . . . At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer: if it ever reaches us, it must spring up amongst us; it cannot come from abroad . . ."

Of course, this was before Pearl Harbor and the age of intercontinental nuclear missiles. But still Lincoln had a point. I have been gathering quotes like this for over 40 years be-

cause they reveal what has been my experience: that many of the things we have feared the most have never happened. All of these were regarded as potential disasters: automation, uncontrolled immigration, Chinese-Soviet domination and Uncle Sam as "a helpless, pitiful giant," which Nixon supposed would be the result of the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

We have seen Watergate, Teheran, Beirut, Nicaragua, El Salvador, all the disasters on the evening television news and in the morning headlines — but somehow the old democratic fog and the Atlantic alliance have held together for over two generations.

For us on The New York Times, the meaning of Easter and its relation to the political world was best defined by that saintly woman, the former Times columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick, who wrote just before she died:

"Whatever happens, the earth will continue to renew itself and mankind will find reasons for living in the con-

stants that survive wars, government, revolution and all historic changes. Everywhere, the things that last are more astonishing than the things that pass . . ."

Even former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who invented the theory of "massive nuclear retaliation" as a means to a balance of terror and peace, wrote before he died:

"As a nation, although still religious, we have lost the connection between our religious faith and our practices. We are in a dilemma, and it is a grave dilemma. Because we have not resolved it, our spiritual influence in the world has waned and we are tied down to the area we can reach by material things — guns and goods."

On his way to China, where the missionaries of the West are best remembered, President Reagan might have time to read Dulles on what Walter Lippmann called "the forgotten foundation" of democracy and the "courage of the American spirit."

## 2. Peking's Family Policy

By Nick Eberstadt

these measures. (There was logic in the reluctance, especially in the countryside, where the household labor force is the key to economic security.) So, increasingly, the population program turned to coercion.

As early as 1980, birth quotas were strictly rationed among "eligible" mothers. In some areas, women with "unauthorized" pregnancies were rounded up and ordered to submit to injections of abortifacients. Official edicts warned that those "who attempt to defeat the fertility plan" would be considered "enemies of the people" — a threat that any adult who lived through the Cultural Revolution understood only too well. Families that defied the "one child norm" were faced with monthly fines that often meant semi-starvation.

Western family-planning programs, predicated on free choice, are

supposed to improve the health of mothers and children. China's involuntary population control program has had the opposite effect. In a poor rural society, where children are expected to contribute to the income of the household, sons are typically valued more highly than daughters. By forcing China's families to settle for a single child, China's population policies have made this preference a deadly matter.

Results from the 1982 China census reveal an unexplained deficit of at least 200,000 baby girls for that year alone. By 1983, the Chinese press was noting with alarm that the ancient practice of infanticide had been revived in "some" rural areas: Little girls, they said, were being abandoned or killed outright by misguided parents. But the current population campaign seems to be threatening the lives of adults as well.

Analysts at the United States Census Bureau have concluded that the life expectancy of Chinese women may have dropped by several years since the population control campaign began. Infanticide alone does not appear to account for this striking reversal. Death rates appear to be up for women in the child-bearing ages. Census Bureau analysts have suggested a possible reason: Mothers seeking to circumvent the one child quota must now avoid all health care facilities, and are thus bereft of all medical assistance.

Chinese officials insist that "forceful" population measures are inevitable simply because of the difficulties in feeding and supporting their nation's enormous population. In reality, however, the principal force depressing living standards in China over the past generation has been bad Government policy, not population growth.

Between the early 1950's and the late 1970's, overall agricultural efficiency in China fell by 10 to 30 percent, while it rose measurably in virtually every non-Communist nation in Asia. Over those same years, overall industrial efficiency in China dropped even further — and rose even more dramatically in the rest of non-Communist Asia. And rather than liberalize or overhaul the system so that it might feed the people better, China's leaders appear content to cut back on the number of mouths in their country.

When the President arrives in China, he will have an opportunity to urge China's highest officials to resist in this terrible campaign against their own people. He also has an immediate avenue for backing his words with action: Almost a quarter of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities' \$50 million bequest to Chinese population programs is American money. Failure to act against these grave and obvious human rights abuses would expose America to some very serious charges — and those charges would be right.

WASHINGTON — The sharp division in the Administration caused by the Justice Department's off-and-on-again decision, rejecting then approving the LTV-Republic Steel merger, underscores the need for a new antitrust law for distressed industries as part of an industrial strategy.

This merger and a wave of others has sorely tested antitrust doctrine — from Texaco-Getty Oil and the General Motors-Toyota joint venture approved by the Federal Trade Commission to the Gulf Oil-Socal merger, which withstood a Senate challenge.

Using traditional legal theories, Assistant Attorney General J. Paul McGrath first concluded that the merger of the third and fourth largest steel producers would create untenable anticompetitive pressures. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige accused him of ignoring the "real world" of fierce foreign competition, then publicly called the decision a "world class mistake," prompting an angry retort from Attorney General William French Smith.

Each was correct from his perspective. Mr. McGrath was properly concerned about the merger's effect on competition in an already concentrated industry where import restraints abound. Mr. Baldrige appropriately recognized the importance of mergers to the steel industry's survival by reducing overcapacity, bridging the capital gap and improving efficiencies. What is wrong is antitrust doctrine and the decision-making process for reviewing mergers in our basic industries. Now that the Justice Department has approved a slightly revised merger, the industry has been given a benefit without a requirement to return anything to the public — as was the case with the Carter Administration's 1980 steel policy.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, President Jimmy Carter's Assistant for Domestic Affairs and Policy, is a lawyer.

PARIS, April 21 — The big question in France is how long the Communists will stay in the Government. President François Mitterrand was so confident they weren't ready to leave that he maneuvered them last week into voting confidence in the policies they attack every day.

Nobody was fooled. The marriage of necessity between Mr. Mitterrand's Socialists and the Communists continues, and so does their furious battle. It is fought with peculiar tactics that seem designed more for each to gain the advantage when the left is eventually forced out of power and the two rivals can throw aside restraint, rather than to salvage their coalition government's sagging strength.

Neither party really wants the partnership. But neither side feels it can afford to take responsibility for a breakup, and both still seek the benefits that sticking together provides.

Mr. Mitterrand has the upper hand. With an absolute Socialist majority in the Assembly, the Communists couldn't bring down the Government by voting against it. And they couldn't keep their ministerial jobs and privileges if they did. Mr. Mitterrand's strategy has been clear from the start: He embraced the Communists to win power and then to devour them.

In 1972, the year he signed the Socialist-Communist alliance, he said, "Our basic goal is to refashion a big Socialist Party on the ground held by the Communist Party itself, to show that out of five million Communist voters, three million can vote Socialist."

The plan worked. From nearly a quarter of the vote at that time, the Communists are down to around 15 percent and still dropping. French analysts figure they will be excluded from the major role they have enjoyed since World War II if they are reduced to 10-12 percent. That would change the political landscape, though the opposition is almost as

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# Trouble In France

By Flora Lewis

sharply split so it isn't clear where the new dividing line would come.

But Mr. Mitterrand's success has been his disaster. His own party's leftism, sustained by his rejection of German-style social democracy and the mistakes made through socialist ideological rigidity, has lost him moderate support.

Communists and Socialists combined would lose if elections were held now. The economy is in serious trouble, way behind the start of recovery elsewhere because of the 1981-82 spending binge.

Workers who voted for the left and its promise of jobs and purchasing power are angry at continued increases in unemployment, price rises and depression. The foreign debt has skyrocketed.

Communist-controlled unions are demonstrating amid growing disorder. Their leaders can't ignore the fury now. But if their party were pushed out of Government, they would really go on the warpath. Mr. Mitterrand would have a much harder time trying to restructure and revive industry in a social mainstream under open attack from his left as well as his right.

The Communists' strategy is much murkier. Maybe they haven't one.

Their tactics have been on such an opportunistic zigzag that there is a question whether they want more to demonstrate their capacity to participate in government or to recoup lost turf as the major voice of protest. Left-wing Socialists also show a suspect nostalgia for the freedom, indeed the irresponsibility, of opposition. Slogans are easier to applaud than are painful decisions.

It is a measure of how far the French left has come from the euphoria of its 1981 victory that it now claims its main success is still to be governing after nearly three years. Its nightmare was the ruinous collapse of the 1936 Popular Front in under two years, and the charge of being incapable of running the country.

But the shift of direction and language has been so drastic as to provoke the cynic to say that the left can govern France only when it imposes policies of the right. There is no more talk about "changing society" and "changing life." Now it is all about trimming industry to competitive muscle and spurring technological initiative.

The old slogans about the evils of profit and social inequality haven't been dumped. But they have been muted. Overhauling society and forcing it toward the 21st century isn't as easy as passing a law, the French have learned. Without admitting it, the left has had to choose between wielding power and proclaiming panaceas.

The French experience so far has reinforced the conclusion that the central issue of modern government is competence in steering the state through the unmovable shoals of domestic economics and foreign affairs. There isn't much room for righteous programs. Ideology is a luxury for those in opposition. Eventually, the French Communists will succumb to the temptation. Mr. Mitterrand is leaving it up to them.



# Peter Ustinov Plays Beethoven

By MEL GUSSOW

**A**s a schoolboy, Peter Ustinov made his acting debut in a dramatized nursery rhyme. His first review, memorialized in his school records, said he was "adequate in the part of a pig." Since then, he has learned to mistrust critics and to diversify his art. Just turning 63, he is celebrated on several continents as an actor, playwright, director, novelist and autobiographer. Currently he can be seen in a favorite hyphenate as actor-playwright in "Beethoven's Tenth," which opened in New York Sunday night at the Nederlander Theater. In Mr. Ustinov's new play, Ludwig von Beethoven suddenly returns to life and joins the household of an acerbic English music critic. Naturally, Mr. Ustinov plays the composer (George Rose is the critic), just as in earlier attempts at incarna-

tion he has personified Nero, Sophocles and Samuel Johnson. Extending his range in the world of detective fiction, he has played everything from Belgian (Hercule Poirot) to Chinese (Charlie Chan). His finest role is, of course, himself. In that guise, he can sit back and be imitatively Ustinovian.

A conversation with Mr. Ustinov is a Renaissance riff of free association, embracing such seemingly discordant subjects as the decline of civilization, famous old actors doing television commercials, frozen royalties and, whenever possible, Beethoven. Soon a hotel room becomes a United Nations of characters and voices.

He had just come off the road. Beardless for Beethoven, he looked well-fed but less imposing in person than on screen or stage. Settling down with the first of several cigars, he said that he had been touring from Wilmington to Detroit, and at almost every stop an admirer had come up to

him and reminded him of a past performance or a specific line of dialogue. After more than 40 films and 20 plays, his memory bank is sometimes overdrawn. "If that happens to me," he said, "it must have happened on a much greater scale to Beethoven. If he were alive today, people would come up to him in airports, sing 'Da-da-da-dum,' and say, 'Mean anything to ya?'"

Mr. Ustinov's Beethoven arrives on stage speaking German, then shifts to English. The actor is also fluent in French and Italian. He is in fact a polyglot, and his ear is offended when others take linguistic liberties. He remembered an Egyptian film in which Cleopatra and her court discoursed in limpid Arabic, only to be interrupted by an ancient Roman speaking Via Veneto Italian. Parenthetically, he said that America is best at making films about Rome because of "the similarity of the civilizations."

Does that mean that America, like Rome, will fall?

"No, but the concept that things are going to fall is always there." To make his point, he spoke in Churchill's voice, "Even if the British empire were to last a thousand years, this will be their finest hour," and then commented, "I was always amazed that Churchill would allow himself to put a term onto the British empire — only a thousand years!"

As an English-born son of a German father of Russian descent, he adheres to a kind of omni-ethnicity. He draws the line, however, at playing an Australian aborigine because of his physical limitation. "I don't think there's any aborigine who is as well-covered as I am. They're all masses of bones." On the other hand, he says, producers often credit him with corporeal malleability. He will receive a script and have no idea which part he is being asked to play. "They will say, 'Mr. Smith.' But Mr. Smith is minute, bald and nervous. They say, 'Oh, Petah, you can do anything.'"

That comment led circuitously to a recounting of a small hoax he once perpetrated. He was a judge in a Unicef competition in which children from around the world were asked to draw pictures illustrating their home life. "I infiltrated into the competition a drawing which I did of a very old man who looked like Hitler. There was a practically dead German shepherd on the ground and a plump woman was next to him." He titled it "Me Familia," and signed it, "San Rodrigo Hitler, 13 1/2, Asuncion, Paraguay." "It really took them in for a while. They said, 'It's impossible. He'd be much older than 13 1/2.' In a more serious vein, he said he was thinking of writing a book about people history has forgotten, such as "the man who tried to poison Sailer."

On his Swiss estate, he has his own vineyard and in a case of reverse chic, the wine is unlabeled, although he considered possible names for his private reserve, including Pierrot, French both for Peter and for clown. When it was suggested that as an actor he appeared under the Pierrot label, he rejected the idea while admitting that "elements of clownery" were important to his work, even to his version of "King Lear," which he did for two seasons at the Shakespeare Festival in Canada.

With the subject of clowns on the table, he said that he knew Chaplin as a neighbor in Switzerland. He recalled the time that Chaplin won the prestigious Erasmus prize, given in The Netherlands, and shared that year with Ingmar Bergman. Pleading shyness, Chaplin asked Mr. Usti-

# Arts & Leisure

nov to make his acceptance speech for him. "So I went to Amsterdam with him, and I spoke for Charlie Chaplin. After I warmed up the audience, he got up and made a long and very sentimental speech himself."

Harold Lloyd was a closer friend. Once when Lloyd visited him in Switzerland, Mr. Ustinov remarked on the fact that in his sleepy Swiss lakeside town at the moment were "probably the two great comic geniuses of the silent screen." Lloyd said, "Who's the other one?"

The two also met in Lloyd's Hollywood mansion. "Lloyd showed me his collection of 3D photographs. He had pictures of the Parthenon, the Colosseum and other historical places. In the corner of each photograph was a girl wearing a bathing costume and holding a beach ball. I said, 'Harold, what are those?' Assuming a Middle Western drawl, Mr. Ustinov offered a dead-on imitation of Lloyd, 'Wall, Peterrr, whenever I get to a new city, the first thing I do is to

experts say, don't do it for a beer, do it for a commodity. Yehudi Menuhin with his sleeves rolled up, and a bit of Rolex showing." If Beethoven were alive, would he do a commercial for Lowenbrau? "He might. It's a very interesting speculation. I'm absolutely sure that Botticelli would have worked for Vogue."

He said that he is saving his one-man show for his old age, although he occasionally performs solo for benefits. That led him to a story. When he attended a film festival in Moscow, he was asked to entertain impromptu in Gorky Park, along with other foreign celebrities. He arrived as Yves Montand was performing, without accompaniment, before an audience of 35,000. Snapping his fingers and singing in French, he imitated Mr. Montand's barely audible performance, and then described how Mr. Montand was led away by two strong-armed men. Next was a group of Cuban filmmakers who danced. With a thick Spanish accent and clicking his tongue like maracas, he imitated the Cubans. As they came off stage, he said, a group of men tied them away.

The Cubans had been introduced as representatives of the Heroic Island of Cuba. "Mr. Ustinov, next on the bill, was introduced as coming from Great Britain. He offered a correction: 'I come from the Heroic Island of Great Britain.' Then he did his 'party turn.' When he came off stage, two men spirited him away in a limousine. He thought, 'Are we all going to disappear?' Across Moscow, the car stopped at a dank courtyard and he spied Mr. Montand leaving, followed by the Cubans. Then he was led to a window. A man said, 'Eight minutes, 43 seconds, unaccompanied,' and a woman counted on an abacus, 'Two hundred twelve rubles' — payment for the performance. Mr. Ustinov said, 'I did it because I was asked to as a friendly gesture.' She said, 'The Soviet Union does not accept charity.'

In Russia, he is primarily known, and honored, as a writer. He said that for ten years his play, "Halfway Up the Tree," ran in repertory in Leningrad — under the title "Halfway Up the Mountain." It's a larger country, he explained. With productions and publication throughout Eastern Europe, he is in fact the emperor of frozen royalties.

**He is saving his one-man show for his old age, Ustinov says.**

phone an agency and ask for a little cheesecake. I feel it livens up those dead things."

As a working actor, Mr. Ustinov is open to all offers. Along with his many artistic involvements he has managed to do his share of testimonials, but he is in awe of the work of his senior countrymen, actors of "pe-nurious distinction who suddenly in their old age find relief doing commercials. If I could imagine myself as a dramatic student again, I don't think I would have believed that a day would come when I would see Gielgud quite so often extolling Paul Masson wines. Olivier did a commercial here for Polaroid and refused to do it in England, so I did it," and he explained in the commercial that he was standing in for Olivier. "Now the

# Two Young Actors Who Journeyed to 'El Norte'



David Villalpando and Zaide Silvia Gutierrez—Their sense of frustration is heightened by the fact that "El Norte" hasn't so far been released in Mexico.

By GORDON D. MOTT

MEXICO CITY

**T**he camera was right next to my face. They told me not to move. So, I sat there and sat there and sat there. Finally, I looked out of the corner of my eye and the cameraman and his assistant were gone. I shouted, "Can I move now?"

Zaide Silvia Gutierrez, the young Mexican actress who plays Rosa Xuncax in the widely acclaimed movie "El Norte," recalls the frozen moment beside the camera with embarrassment.

"But I'd never shot a close-up before, and no one told me what to do," Miss Gutierrez said. "I was like a virgin during the first time."

David Villalpando, who plays Enrique Xuncax, Rosa's brother in the film, also didn't fare too well the first time in front of a camera.

"I'd always acted on stage before. There is an audience out there, reacting to you. I had to learn how to make loving statements to the camera."

Despite their inexperience in films, both Mr. Villalpando and Miss Gutierrez have earned critical praise in the United States for their performances as young Guatemalan highland Indians whose father has been killed by the army and whose mother has disappeared.

The film, directed by Gregory Nava and produced by his wife, Anna Thomas, follows their lives, as the brother and sister decide to flee to the United States, a place that they envision as the promised land but which, in fact, confronts them with difficulties and harshness of circumstance. The film requires the actors to move through three cultures and an epic emotional journey. It was filmed in Mexico and with Mexican actors because the filmmakers felt they would encounter fewer problems there than in Guatemala.

The two young actors were chosen after an extensive audition process for their ability to portray Indian protagonists and their affinity for Indian culture.

By Mr. Villalpando's and Miss Gutierrez's account, their roles in "El Norte" have inspired a new love for moviemaking that competes with and even overshadows their passion for theater. Although it has been more than 18 months since they completed the film, the two young Mexicans said the experience still haunts them. They admit a keen, but so far frustrated, desire to make movies.

Their sense of frustration is heightened by the fact that "El Norte" hasn't been released in Mexico. Therefore, they've only heard about the accolades being bestowed on the movie in the United States, and, apart from the film's opening at the 1983 film festival in Telluride, Colo., they haven't had a chance to bask in the public's praise of the film.

"I've only seen the film once," Miss Gutierrez said. "I need to see it 10 times for my performance to sink

into me. I need to analyze it. The only time I saw it, I started crying."

But Mr. Nava said that the film would not be released in Mexico until after it appeared as a special selection at the Cannes Film Festival in May. Even then, he added, the film's release here will be "based on a business decision."

If "El Norte" isn't released here, it can only mean bad news for David and Zaide.

"We're unknowns here," the actress said. "There are even people who think after reading the small news stories here that we are U.S. Chicanos who've come to Mexico to make it big."

Without the local publicity, the pair haven't been deluged with offers. After shooting the film, Mr. Villalpando returned to a play titled "The Extensionist," in which he has appeared more than 1,000 times. And Miss Gutierrez has just opened in a play after preparing it for more than eight months.

Mr. Villalpando said the lack of film-related work hasn't surprised them because the moviemaking world in Mexico is very closed and hard to break into.

"All our contacts are in the theater," he said. "Movie directors don't

**The two actors were chosen for their ability to portray Indian protagonists.**

come to stage performances looking for actors. All they want to know is how many 'telenovelas' [soap operas] you have to your credit and if it's none, they don't want to talk to you."

Miss Gutierrez began acting when she was 13 years old, and Mr. Villalpando started his career while still in his teens. Although Mr. Villalpando is now 25 and Miss Gutierrez is 24, they both still share an enthusiasm for acting that could easily be mistaken for youthful naiveté. Neither has been jaded by the long years as aspiring actor or actress.

"It's that innocence and lack of cynicism that makes them so special," said Mr. Nava. "It's that special quality to them that comes through on the screen and probably what makes them so sympathetic."

Mr. Villalpando's and Miss Gutierrez's roles, he added, were incredibly complex, but they appeared on screen as deceptively simple characters. "That's because the acting was so good. They were like the ballet dancer who, in doing something difficult, does it so effortlessly that it ap-

pears easy. It took real professional actors to achieve the right rhythms."

Nevertheless, Mr. Nava said, the actors' adjustment from the exaggerated movements of the stage to the more subtle gestures required before the camera's unblinking eye had not been easy. "The camera is such a cold, demanding thing. David especially froze up at first. He had real trouble breaking through to ignore it. But, when he did, it was like a hot knife through butter."

Miss Gutierrez and Mr. Villalpando, who were both born and raised in Mexico City, found not only the acting difficult, but the working conditions in rural Chiapas, a southern Mexican state that borders Guatemala, uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous.

"There was typhoid. The food was often alarming. And, we had suffer long rides over bad roads to get to the Indian towns around San Cristobal de las Casas where we were filming," Miss Gutierrez said. "We were going into towns where they didn't know what television was. We say we were making a film and they'd ask, 'What's a film?'"

One attempt to film a scene turned ugly. Mr. Nava wanted to shoot inside a church in a small Indian village. He was setting up when a group of Indians, returning from day-long festivities associated with the Day of the Dead holiday, happened on the crew inside the church. The holiday is one of Mexico's most important religious celebrations.

"They were all a little hung over," Miss Gutierrez explained. "Apparently some tourists had stolen several saints from their church a couple of years ago. They started shouting, surrounded the church and wouldn't let anybody else inside. Greg packed up. But when he got back to the bus, Greg discovered that he'd forgotten his notebook, so he had to go back to get it. The Indians started rocking the bus back and forth and were threatening to tip it over. I was white with fear, but they didn't do anything to us."

In fact, Miss Gutierrez and Mr. Villalpando said they developed a deep understanding, almost a spiritual bond, with the Indians they worked beside and with during the shooting of "El Norte."

"Our characters were part of that culture, and there was no way we could be against them," Mr. Villalpando said. "We had to learn everything about being Indian. The way they walked, even the way they thought. We became part of them."

When the shooting moved back to Los Angeles, Miss Gutierrez and Mr. Villalpando said they realized just how much like their characters they had become.

"We had to live like Rosa and Enrique there. We didn't belong. We walked around with our passports in our pockets for the first two weeks, always afraid of being stopped by an immigration officer," Mr. Villalpando said.

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THE ELEVEN mainly young men and women from Toronto are sitting in the lobby of the Moriah hotel in Jerusalem on the last day of their trip to Israel. Some are quiet and some occupied with their own thoughts. Others engage in easy banter.

"I'm proud I climbed Masada," says one girl.

"Who's the next prime minister of Israel?" asked one fellow. "Me," another shouts back.

A picture of playful normalcy and the half-bored, half-restless search for thrills and entertainment that can grip tourists anywhere.

But the normalcy is not complete. All eleven suffer from some degree of mental retardation. Two bear the stamp of mongolism on their faces; others suffer from cerebral palsy. A man of about 30 walks into the lobby. Erect and self-confident in bearing, his half-smile and something else that is undefinable nevertheless bespeak amiability and lack of pretentiousness.

Rabbi Joseph Kelman takes his seat among the group. They know him well. This is the third bunch of their people he has brought to Israel. Three of the present visitors were on the first trip, in 1977, and came on the second, in 1980.

"Ladies and gentlemen," says the rabbi, "I'm not going to make any speeches, but I'd like you to share some impressions of your trip with this friend beside me, who is a reporter with The Jerusalem Post."

"When will I get a copy of the article?" This is Hirsch, who needs no drawing out.

"What part of the trip did you like best?" asks Kelman.

"I liked the shopping, Eilat and the glass-bottom boats," answers one girl, who has to be asked to raise her voice so she can be heard more clearly.

"I liked Masada," says another girl. "It feels like it's our home. We fought the Romans there. Now we have to defend our home again."

Of course the group has been to the Wall. "We put on *tefillin* at the Wall," says Henry, who looks like the prosperous owner of a grocery

or hardware store. Around 40, short, heavy-set, with receding blond hair topped by a brown velvet kippa, he wears a hearing aid.

"Henry is a frustrated rabbi," Kelman says with a smile. "He makes longer speeches than I do."

"You know why," Henry retorts. "Because they're more interesting."

Later Kelman tells me that at the age of seven his parents had put severely retarded Henry into a government institution, where he remained for 27 years. Eight years ago Kelman took him out and gave him a job as assistant *shammes* at his synagogue. The rabbi was pleased when at the end of the first week Henry knocked at the door of his study and demanded his pay.

Since then, Henry has come a long way. He lives independently in a rented apartment and works as a storekeeper in a factory, earning \$4 an hour — more than the legal minimum wage.

WHAT IS ISRAEL'S biggest problem? the rabbi continues his questioning. "War and the economy," answers a girl, who sits awkwardly in her lounge chair and holds her thin hands strangely.

"Do you remember Yod Vashem?" Nobody does. The visit took place at the beginning of the tour. Twelve days is a long time ago and many impressions have crowded in since then. Or perhaps a deeper kind of "normalcy" has made the group forget what is so painful to remember.

But those who were with the rabbi in 1980 remember the cookies the late Aliza Begin offered them when they visited her home. They remember the cookies, and her kindness.

"What was the worst part of the trip?" "Going to *shul*," answers Hirsch, 28, unequivocally. He looks just like a fast-talking, up-and-coming businessman. He also lives on his own and earns his own living, "as a dishwasher, or something," the rabbi isn't sure. He is well-built and one gets the feeling it wouldn't be wise to arouse his anger.

Especially after hearing about his epileptic fits.



The Reena group with Rabbi Joseph Kelman (in white cap) and wife in left foreground.

## Ordinary people

By ERNIE MEYER/Jerusalem Post Reporter

"You haven't said anything yet, the rabbi turns to dark-haired, slim Philip, whose sensitive, pale face reflects suffering. To draw him out the rabbi asks him the names of Israel's present and past presidents. He knows them all, although because of his disability he speaks only in a whisper.

He came here in 1972 with his family to celebrate his bar mitzva

and he has been on all Rabbi Kelman's tours here. The rabbi told me that Philip reads *The Post* every day and is well informed about all Israel's political problems.

"You haven't asked this visitor any questions," I turn to the rabbi, indicating a dark-complexioned girl sitting to my right.

Oops, my mistake. "She is one of our Israeli volunteers," Kelman

enlightens me. She has not been talking to the guests as much as the other two volunteers, from Toronto and New Jersey, apparently because of her English.

"Any more words of wisdom?" the rabbi asks finally. "People should be happy with people," says one girl. Hard to fault such a statement.

As I get up to say goodbye, I sud-

denly see a girl kneeling on the floor, her head buried in the plush of an armchair. Leslie Carter, the councillor who has mothered the group since Toronto, quietly puts her arms around the sobbing girl, talks to her quietly and leads her to the door of the elevator. A small crisis. Apparently not unusual. Carter, 24, is a psychology graduate of Toronto's York University. Kelman is full of praise for her skill and devotion. He knows what he's talking about. On the last trip, he and his wife Ruth did that job. On the way back to Canada he practically collapsed on a stop-over in Amsterdam that was meant to be a rest.

In Toronto Carter helps her wards with "life skills." Some she assists with their shopping, cooking and banking. These are the most advanced. Others still live in houses under full supervision.

"Yes, there is progress," she answers my question. "People move up from one group to the other."

How does a nice Jewish rabbi with a large prosperous congregation get mixed up with this work? Any retardation in his family? No.

IT ALL STARTED in 1960, when young Kelman was appointed chaplain at the fortress-like mental hospital on Toronto's Queen Street. Without any formal training, he simply applied his innate humaneness and gave the Jewish inmates as much individual attention as he could. Among other things he started a choir — and a man who hadn't spoken for four years began to talk again. He was being treated like a human being.

"I tried to apply my instinctive philosophy of giving people inside the same options as those on the outside," he says.

In 1961, "in an impulsive moment," Kelman started the Kadima Sunday school for the retarded at his synagogue. It now has 25 pupils. He is quick to point out that his congregation was supportive of his work all along. The school is now under the direction of his wife Ruth, who is with her husband all the way.

At first the parents of retarded children resisted the idea of holding a bar mitzva or bat mitzva for their youngsters. They were afraid of the exposure and suffered from a sense of shame or guilt. There are still such parents. It's not a glamorous thing," says Kelman, who has tried to spread his ideas through his long-standing chairmanship of the United Synagogue committee on special education. The Kadima Sunday school later fostered the creation of the Reena (Hebrew for Joy) Foundation, which today is a multi-million dollar concern. Some years ago a wealthy couple who had no immediate connection with retardation gave close to \$1 million for the purchase of a summer camp and several houses. Last year the Ontario government gave Reena \$700,000 to implement day-care programmes for adult Jewish and gentile retarded. This is quite a degree of recognition for a private effort that grew unencumbered by "professional" theories.

Reena now has a staff of about 40 and operates five group homes for those who need round-the-clock supervision. In addition, there are the minimum supervision apartments for those who can manage on their own, more or less. The Ontario government pays 80 per cent of the running costs of these homes.

Kelman feels that he has pioneered the "family" approach to caring for the retarded, although there are some such homes in New York, which also have a summer camp and even a yeshiva for retarded youngsters. His next project is to organize a trip to Israel by Reena residents and alumni together with their parents or relatives.

The retarded or their families have all paid for their own trips, with Reena making only the occasional supplementary grant. This year's participants of this trip even attended an eight-session preparatory course.

"It's all part of the effort at normalization," says the matter-of-fact rabbi.

A LAST BLAST of winter brought us unexpectedly low temperatures, strong winds and downpours just before Pesach. I hope that your gardens did not suffer too much, and that you were able, with a little "first-aid," to restore everything to normal. After a storm this usually involves removing broken branches from trees and shrubs, staking bent flowers with stones or sticks and cleaning debris from flower and vegetable beds. If stormy weather brought leaves and pine cones onto your garden paths, rake them into heaps, collect them in rubber baskets or buckets and add this raw material to the compost heap.

Give all perennials some general fertilizer and feed the lawn and green-leaved vegetables and herbs such as cabbage, parsley and dill with small amounts of a nitrogen-containing fertilizer.

When all is well and thriving again, you can reflect on the "official" effect of rainwater, a good compensation for the damage caused by the elements.

Mildew. Many people have asked me about a remedy for ugly white spots on rose leaves. This common garden disease, mostly appearing in spring and summer, is called mildew (*kemahon* in Hebrew). Powdery white spots appear on the top of leaves, and there is a puckering or yellowing of the tissues underneath. A heavy overnight dew is all the moisture necessary to start the formation of mildew. Once the ever-present spores come to life and after the plant tissue (sometimes in less than five hours), it is too late for eradication. Frequent applications of fungicide to infested plants are required to keep down the dangerous disease. Even better is spraying with a fungicide as a prophylactic measure.

Mildews do not attack roses only. They also attack apple, peach and cherry trees, grape vines, lilac bushes, all of the cucumber family (marrows, melon, etc.) waxflowers (*Yucca canosa*, *batsheba* in Hebrew), *phlox*, and, in a most ugly form, *zinnia*. Strange to say, it isn't hot and dry hamish weather, but moisture, heavy dew or frequent watering by sprinklers that encourages the spread of mildew.

Control. Sanitation is important. Dead leaves and other very infested parts of plants should be destroyed. Never throw these parts onto the compost heap. Remove them from the garden area and burn them completely.

Cultivate sick plants and give

them some general fertilizer to strengthen their natural resistance. This is important: weak plants are the ones most often affected.

Many fungicides are available at local garden centres and nurseries. Some are dusted onto the plants; others are sprays. The question of which kind to use always arises.

Sprays adhere to plant foliage longer than dusts. The main disadvantage of spraying is that the quantity of water and fungicide liquids must be accurately measured. Sprays can be applied any time during the day, but there is less danger of injuring plants if they are applied early in the morning or in the late afternoon. *Seprol*, a product of Ekogan, Beersheba, is a commonly used fungicide here. It's a poison and shouldn't be left where children can reach it.

Dusting with sulphur powder appeals to most amateur gardeners, because it's cheaper and ready to apply. The best time to dust with sulphur is early in the morning on a wind-free day, when there is some moisture on the plants.

When dusting with sulphur, wear sunglasses to protect your eyes against inflammation. Sulphur may become harmful to cucumbers, squash, melon, etc., and these plants are better treated with a Bordeaux solution.

To prepare your own Bordeaux mixture, dissolve about 100 gm. of copper sulphate in a bucket half filled with water (do not use a metal container). Add small amounts of lime until the solution no longer turns litmus paper red. Stir vigorously while using. Since bigger particles of the Bordeaux components may block the fine holes of a sprayer, it's better to use a watering can (without rosette) to apply the liquid.

Whether spray or dust is used, it is necessary to cover the plant completely. Dusts can be applied by the so-called shaker method, using a cheesecloth (burial or gauze) bag (see drawing) or a tin with small holes pinched in the bottom. This method covers only the top surface of the leaves. Most garden centres sell different kinds and sizes of hand dusters. These are equipped with an extension tube and spoon-nozzle that permits the dust to be directed to the undersides of the foliage as well.

Aphids. These plant-sucking pests appear in early spring, sometimes at the same time as mildew. They multiply by the thousands, but are for-

## Debugging your plants

GARDENER'S CORNER/Walter Frankl



Dusting bag with sulphur powder to fight mildew.

unately easy to control. Just spray with malathion every three to four days in spring until all signs of infestation are gone.

Aphids mostly congregate in thick colonies on growing tips and tender leaves. They may be green or grey, reddish or black in colour. They can be found on roses, calendulas, snapdragons, English daisies, cabbages, broad beans and many other seasonal plants. Some of them also infest perennial shrubs like oleander, asclepias (a kind of Sodom apple), geraniums and others.

As in all control campaigns, the simplest remedy should be tried first. Wash the affected plant with a strong stream of water. Some kinds of aphids will leave the plant under these conditions. Organic gardeners who are on principle against the application of chemicals, use nettle tea or soapy water to get rid of aphids.

Even house plants are subjects to aphid attack. Aphids usually go unnoticed until you see the damage. They "hitch a ride" into your home on new plants or infested soil. You should carefully spray all new plants (outdoors!) before placing them indoors. Systemic insecticides, recently introduced, are sprayed on

leaves and absorbed by the plant. They make the sap and tissue poisonous, which kills the insects.

One ready-to-use spray is called Sano-Gan and produced by Bruno's Enterprises Ltd., Hod-Hasharon. You can buy Sano-Gan at all established garden centres and plant nurseries. I use this insecticide on roses, with very good results. It's very easy: light pressure on the top of the tin produces a fine milky spray which covers the plant tops. Since using Sano-Gan, I haven't seen any aphids in my garden.

Plan and plant your perennial border. Amateur gardeners often aim for an ever-flowering border in the garden. The late-flowering varieties cover and hide the earlier ones, thus giving the whole border the appearance of continuous bloom. But anybody who thinks that planting a perennial border will save time and energy is mistaken. This is not an easy job. Only planning well in advance and careful soil preparation will lead to success.

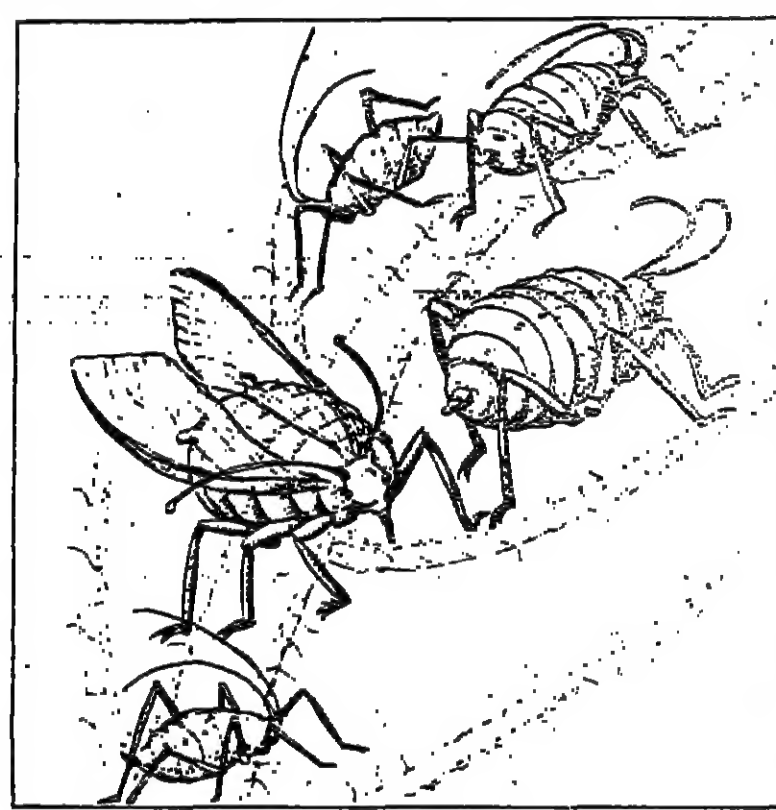
Detailed knowledge of all the border plants is necessary. The requirements of each plant, its maximum height, colour and flowering season should be studied in detail before going to work.

Planting distances which often worry the amateur, must be judged by the eventual size the plants will attain. Planting too close results in undesirable competition and prevents the closely crowded plants from developing fully. Planting distances that are too wide, leave unsightly, bare spots and give weeds a better chance.

After choosing a suitable, sunny spot, weeding and digging in sufficient amounts of manure or compost, comes the most important job: planting.

Here you have to follow the common planting pattern of low, higher and tall.

The next column will contain a list of low, medium-sized and tall perennials to choose from. Until then — prepare your ground and get everything ready!



Plant-sucking aphids, which produce several generations in a year.

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## Britain saves face

BRITAIN's decision to sever its diplomatic relations with Libya has been welcomed not only in Britain itself but in all nations that decry outlaw regimes like that of Muammar Gaddafi.

It can be argued that Britain had little choice but to act as it did. Yet it faced difficulties. Firstly there are powerful interests in Britain concerned with maintaining their large and lucrative export trade to Libya. And a main concern was for the estimated 8,000 British citizens who work in Libya.

But each of these arguments could be balanced by counter-claims. Libya too has an interest in continuing its trade ties with Britain, including its own export of crude oil which, in today's market, Britain could easily get elsewhere. And just as there are many Britons in Libya so there are thousands of Libyans, mostly students financed directly by the Gaddafi regime, in England.

Thus the issue that was emerging was Britain's own prestige. A serious crime had been committed from the premises of the Libyan Embassy and while London police could surround the embassy, an indefinite siege could not be considered an appropriate response.

Yet the severance of diplomatic ties must also be seen for what it is: a gesture. Of itself it will do little to throttle Gaddafi. The U.S. too broke relations with Libya when its patience snapped, but this has had little impact on Libyan behaviour.

Cushioned by annual oil revenues of \$10 billion, Muammar Gaddafi can afford to go his own way. He exports terror in the West and subversion in Africa and the Middle East. Now his spokesmen have also threatened to cooperate closely with the IRA against Britain.

Slaps on the wrist like diplomatic sanctions will have little effect on his course.

## An answer needed

THE INSISTENT reports that one of the Arab terrorists who hijacked the bus bound for Ashkelon was captured alive and then killed can no longer be ignored.

According to these reports, an Israeli photographer photographed the terrorist as he was being led from the bus by Israeli security personnel. He then seemed alive and well. The photo was later shown by newsmen to relatives and neighbours of the man in his Gaza Strip village, who identified him.

When confronted with this evidence, the army spokesman speculated that the man in the photo was perhaps a passenger who had been mistakenly identified by the security people as one of the terrorists and therefore was in their custody. The spokesman flatly denied that any of the terrorists were killed after capture.

Three questions arise from the suspicions surrounding this aspect of the bus incident. If indeed a terrorist was killed after capture, this could only be upon orders or in defiance of orders. If upon orders, the public must be concerned, for that is how the rule of law in a society begins to erode. If in defiance of orders, then the army must be concerned, for that is how discipline begins to erode. In either case the public has a right and a need to know the truth.

The second question has to do with the credibility of the army spokesman's announcements. That credibility was sorely damaged in the early phases of the Lebanese War. It should not be made to sustain further pressure, if the army sets any store by public trust.

Thirdly it must be asked what gains were envisaged, if indeed, it turns out that law and convention were violated in this case. For as has already occurred, instead of maintaining world focus on the dastardly terrorist act itself and the efficient rescue of the bus, attention, especially in the western press, was shifted to the fate of the "captured" terrorist.

In an interview yesterday, Defence Minister Moshe Arens said he had no reason to doubt the official version of the events. He added, however, that the army was completing its own inquiry into all aspects of the bus incident, and would then be able to finally determine what happened with regard to the terrorist.

The only point that Mr. Arens failed to make was that the findings on the mooted capture would be made public. Until that occurs, the matter will continue to cause disquiet at home and abroad.

### POSTSCRIPTS

**PS** WE REALLY feel for Yosef Mizrahi, the Holon man who was arrested on suspicion of assaulting a motorcyclist who allegedly raised a racket outside his home.

When the Knesset recently debated some amendments to the Traffic Ordinance, Alignment MK Amnon Linn suggested that the police be empowered to impound noisy motorcycles and motor scooters.

Transport Minister Haim Corfu did not comment on the suggestion. What will it take to get some action on what Linn called "one of the plagues of life in Israel?" A.R.

**PS** WRITES a reader in Beersheba: A typical Israeli response to the question, "How are you?" used to be, "Yom Yom," meaning, I get by a day at a time. Perhaps it's because of the galloping inflation that more and more I'm hearing the response, "Sha'a, Sha'a," (hour by hour). A.H.S.

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**PS** ITALIAN road workers have uncovered a large tomb that could be the treasure-filled burial site of the 5th-century Visigothic King, Alaric I, the Italian news agency ANSA reports.

Ansa said the tomb was discovered by workers building a road on the outskirts of Cosenza in the arch of the Italian boot.

The tomb is 2.5 metres high, six metres long and 3 metres wide, it said.

Government officials and local archaeologists have yet to make any comment on the find, which is under heavy guard. But ANSA quoted sources as saying there is a good chance that it is Alaric's tomb.

One indication of that other than the size, Ansa said, is that the tomb is located a few hundred metres from where the Caronte and Busento Rivers converge.

According to tradition, Alaric's tomb was constructed in the bed of the Busento River, which was temporarily diverted from its course. That, plus the murder of all the slaves who built the tomb, was a precaution taken against discovery of the treasures reportedly buried with the king.

It is possible that the Busento River has changed course in the 15 centuries since the King died, Ansa said.

Alaric, born around 370 C.E. died of an unknown illness in 410 C.E. near Cosenza shortly after his army sacked Rome. He had marched his army south for a failed expedition to invade Sicily and Africa when he died.

**BITTER** disappointment will be the lot of those Israelis who cling to early assumptions as to the issues that will determine the results of the elections in July. It is not what voters feel and think in January, or in April, that will determine how they decide, but what happens between April and July. Therefore, whoever relies on the economic situation, or inflation, or the war in Lebanon, as decisive factors is exaggerating the weight of past moods on the final decisions of the electorate. This is especially true in regard to that large part of the Israeli public that still remains undecided.

The Israeli public can be divided into three parts:

A large minority group which faithfully votes for the parties of the national and religious Right. We can estimate the size of this group at about 30 per cent.

A large minority group which faithfully votes for the parties of the Centre and the Right. The size of this group can also be estimated at about 30 per cent.

Between the two groups, a group larger than either, which can be described by one key word: the ambivalents. These are the Israelis whose thoughts and feelings are torn between the two sides and who experience a painful difficulty in choosing.

Ambivalence is the dominant trait of the largest group of Israelis, and this is the target group over which the election campaign is fought. There is little chance of persuading devout Likud supporters to vote Alignment; likewise, there is little chance of persuading devout Alignment supporters to vote Likud. The only hope is to persuade the ambivalents, and because choice is so painful for them, what will eventually influence them is events in the weeks immediately preceding the elections and the expression of such events through leaders.

What is the main characteristic of ambivalence? An immense difficulty in choosing between anxiety and hope.

The ambivalent Israeli carries in his heart the imprints of the Holocaust and the imprints of two generations of Arab-Israeli conflict. When the two converge, they produce a deep, pervasive anxiety. The ambivalent Israeli is fearful of the Arabs; he dares not trust any

Arab, even minimally, and he is prepared to believe that all Arabs, all the time, seek the destruction of Israel.

Yet simultaneously, the ambivalent Israeli yearns for peace, seeks a glimmer of hope, and occasionally is even prepared to pin his faith on a chance. Remember how hundreds of thousands of Israelis greeted President Sadat in the streets on his first visit to Israel.

How will the ambivalent Israeli decide between the patterns of anxiety, which are a heritage of the past, and his quest for the glimmer of a chance in the future? Because he lacks sufficient internal authority to decide for himself, he searches for an outside authority and he finds it in persons whose guidance he accepts and in events which, for him, symbolize choice.

**THE EASIEST THING** for the parties of the national and religious right is the activation of long-existing patterns of anxiety, and the supply of symbols of strength as an answer to the anxiety. Their formula may be summed up in two sentences: See what dreadful dangers threaten us from all directions. See how we contend with these dangers with all our power, and how successful we are.

There are three high priests of this doctrine: Menachem Begin, Ariel Sharon and Rafael Eitan. What guides the three of them is not the chance, but the manipulation of anxiety; not the possibility of extricating ourselves from the clutches of the conflict, but the compulsion to persist in it.

It is true that Begin signed the first peace treaty with an Arab country; but he soon did his best to isolate the peace with Egypt, to minimize it as far as possible, and to escalate the conflict between Israel and her neighbours into a war in Lebanon, which has not yet ended. It was not because of the peace treaty that Begin was elected in 1981, but because of his talent for mixing anxiety with power, and adding to these a manipulation of

## High priests of fear

By ALOUPH HAREVEN

inter-communal tensions.

Begin, Sharon and Rafal are the high priests of the ritual of anxiety and power. Are Arens and Shamir any different? In style, they certainly are; but in the basics of their faith, they do not differ. Shamir and Arens both opposed the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty. In other words, they opposed the chance, and preferred to cling to enduring patterns of conflict and anxiety. There is little in the policy and behaviour of either to prove any genuine interest in developing the peace with Egypt. Arens impresses one as being hostile to the peace to this day, while Shamir remains neutral; not against it, yet certainly not for it.

We can thus well imagine that in the election campaign, the leading personalities of the Likud will concentrate on the issue of anxiety and power. They will use their personal and emotional weight to the full in order to persuade the ambivalent Israeli to choose anxiety and not hope. And because anxiety — and not hope — is the deep emotion in the heart of so many Israelis, the Likud has a not altogether hopeless chance of improving its present rating in the opinion polls.

**IN THIS CONTEST**, a major partner of the Likud is Yasser Arafat. They are linked by a single principle: reject a settlement, and favour a continuation of conflict and polarization without a solution.

A settlement with Israel would require Arafat and the PLO to make some extremely difficult decisions. But they have no wish to take such decisions. A settlement with the Palestinians and with Jordan would require the Likud, too, to take some extremely difficult decisions. And they are equally unwilling to face such decisions.

For Arafat, it is more convenient to continue on the terrorism path. He will not vanquish Israel by means of terror, but he will again postpone the need to make crucial decisions within the PLO.

It is also convenient for the Likud

and its partners that Arafat should continue with his policy of terror, because this constantly reinforces the anxiety which the high priests of the Likud promote.

Thus, every terrorist operation these days becomes a symbolic act which will have a considerable impact upon the decision of the ambivalent Israeli. He will be influenced not so much by the index of May and June, or by the figures of past casualties in Lebanon, as by a terrorist act in the heart of Jerusalem and the hijacking of a bus on the way to Ashkelon. The dramatic act, symbolically activating deep emotions of anxiety, will persuade the ambivalent Israeli to vote for the high priests of fear, who continually preach to him that this is the only thing we should expect from the Arabs and the only way to deal with them is by force, for that is the only language they understand.

Every terrorist operation that takes place inside Israel between now and July 23 will become, both implicitly and explicitly, part of the election campaign. Every such operation will mean: Arafat votes Likud.

The Likud people certainly have no joy in such a partnership, and would certainly prefer with all their hearts (like all Israelis) to see terrorism vanquished once and for all. But their feelings notwithstanding, it is certain that terrorist acts will cause many of the ambivalent Israelis to vote for the high priests of anxiety. It is equally certain that the high priests of anxiety will not refrain from exploiting to the utmost the advantage which terrorist raids will give them.

**WHO WILL BE** the leaders to whom the ambivalent voter will turn if he nevertheless persists in his quest for the chance which may override the anxiety? And will such leaders be capable of fortifying him sufficiently to make this choice?

The ambivalent voter needs leaders who are both authoritative and emotionally close to him.

### READERS' LETTERS

**UNWITTING TOOL**  
To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Recently I had the dubious pleasure of hearing yet another travelling Israeli decry his government's policies on the West Bank. This time it was Mordechai Baron. And, in a new twist, he was travelling with exiled Mayor of Hailou, Mohammed Milhem. The event was billed as a dialogue.

There was no dialogue. Baron spoke for a few minutes before turning the programme over to Milhem who spent the next 30 minutes rewriting the history of the West Bank. His speech was a rambling mixture of fire and brimstone and love and peace. Several times he warned that Israel was flirting with a new Holocaust if it didn't change its policies.

Finally, it was Baron's turn to speak again. He said simply that he disagreed with Milhem's interpretation of history; he made no attempt to correct him. Then he and Milhem entertained questions from the audience.

One of the questions gave Milhem a chance to rewrite the history of Jerusalem in the Six Day War. According to Milhem, there were only 100 Jordanian soldiers in Jerusalem at that time. Israel did not regain the Old City as a result of Jordan's decision to open a third front in that war. Israel won Jerusalem as the result of a plot.

When he finished, we waited anxiously for Baron to redress this outrage. When it became apparent that he had no intention of doing so, I and three others left.

What do Israelis like Baron hope to accomplish in America? At least Baron stated his reason. He said he

wanted to offer Americans a chance to hear the Palestinian viewpoint which he understands we never hear. In Seattle, at least, we hear increasingly only the Palestinian viewpoint. Our press is either bored with or hostile toward Israel. They find the Palestinians more newsworthy.

The real reason these Israeli dissidents are in the U.S., I believe, is to accomplish here what they have failed to do in Israel: to politically lever Israel out of the administered territories. Personally, I wish them success in achieving their goal. But to come to the U.S. to achieve this end shows naivety at best but more likely an unhealthy ignorance of the American political scene.

The Arabs have proclaimed that the road to the liberation of Palestine lies through Washington, D.C. To this end they have mounted a sophisticated and not altogether unsuccessful campaign to undermine American support for Israel. Israelis like Baron are unwittingly becoming a part of this campaign. It doesn't matter that Baron is motivated by love for his country, as I'm certain he is. I have seen Israel's enemies in this country take the words of others like Baron and use them to undermine American public opinion toward Israel. They turn these Israelis' criticisms of West Bank policies into arguments against the very idea of a Jewish state.

The political battle over the administered territories is an internal Israeli matter. It should be dealt with by Israelis as such and within Israel's borders.

ROGER W. TALBOT  
Issaquah, Washington.

### RELIGIOUS COERCION

Orthodox Jews in this country. The letter that begins in hypocrisy ends in self-defeatism: do those rabbis really feel that they can no longer preach "aliya" to Israel — where the Jewish Sabbath and festivals will always be the national days of rest — just because a few cafes or movie theatres will be open on Friday nights? Well then, let them urge their flocks to stay put in America — where each winter and spring they can join in the general atmosphere of celebrating Christmas and Easter, instead of Hanukkah, Purim and Passover. Jerusalem. BEZALEL GORDON

### ABUSE OF PSYCHIATRY

It is clear that Teovils Kuma's internationally recognized right to non-violently express his religious beliefs has been violated by an abuse of psychiatry, an abuse that fits into a long pattern of abuse by the Soviet psychiatric community. Teovils Kuma can be helped if people the world over express their opposition to such abuses and inquire about him individually. Write to the Soviet authorities requesting information on Kuma and asking for his unconditional release. Ask your local psychiatric association to inquire about his case and get involved in the effort to abolish politically motivated psychiatry. DAVID WASSERMAN  
Knoxville, Tennessee.

### TRAVEL TAX

#### RIP-OFF

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — On February 2, my wife pre-paid the \$50 travel tax for herself and our infant son, although their first visit to my parents in the U.S. was slated for April. Soon after, the government raised the tax to \$100 for adults, cancelling it for babies.

My wife asked the tax people to credit the baby's tax to her own papers and was refused. She then asked for the money back and, on April 3, received a check from the office of one Edward Shaharbaz for \$56,046. Her own bill for the extra \$50 came to \$17,250, which she paid the same day.

Some rip-off!  
Holon. SHELDON TEITELBAUM

### DEATH ON THE ROADS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I am a Nigerian here in Jerusalem on a short holiday. I wish to associate myself with your thought-provoking editorial, "Fighting death on the road" (April 8). It was as if you were writing on the situation in Nigeria.

For the past 12 years, I have been crying my head off to those in authority to do something about the ever-increasing death toll on Nigerian roads. In 1982, over 13,000 human lives were lost on our roads. The figure for 1983 is expected to be even higher.

THE ATAPA OLAPADE AGORO II  
Jerusalem (Apatu, Ibadan).

### DON'T DRINK TOO MUCH WATER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In your report of March 30, "Sound-wave instrument slatters kidney stones," you mention that "some 15 per cent of the population suffer at some time in their lives from kidney stones" and add that "it is generally held by the medical profession that the principal reason for this high incidence is that Israelis do not drink enough."

In my opinion Israelis drink too much, starting from the cradle, following the advice of the Health Ministry, which warns of the danger of dehydration. The discharge sheet each mother receives on leaving the maternity ward recommends giving the nursing infant water to drink. A breast-fed baby needs no water at all. The infant's requirement of liquids is well satisfied and there is no danger of dehydration. MacKeith's book, "Infant feeding and feeding difficulties" (1981) states that "even in hot climates, breast-feeding supplies enough water to secure os-

molar stability." At the joint WHO-UNICEF meeting on infant feeding that took place in Geneva (9-12 October 1979), it was emphasized that "for optimal breast-feeding, the use of supplementary water should be avoided."

We should avoid senseless generalization and exaggeration in giving advice on drinking. A person who is working, running or exercising in open air on hot days should drink in order to compensate the loss of fluids by perspiration, but in moderate amount (less than half of the quantity recommended by the health authorities). Others should drink when they are thirsty. Exaggeration in drinking may even constitute a health hazard.

There is no medical evidence that drinking plenty of water prevents the formation of kidney stones. On the contrary. Our water contains plenty of minerals that may contribute to the formation of such stones.

DR. J. WILCZEK

### ADVICE FROM AMERICA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I am writing in response to David J. Pervin's letter (March 28) concerning Israel's values and U.S. Aliyah. It is ironic that the moral values of this fine upstanding American Jew include his sitting in Amherst, Maine, and telling Israelis to get their moral act together if they want to encourage aliya.

Let's face it, Mr. Pervin, Israel

could be the last bastion of morality in this world and American Jew wouldn't come because most of them are like you — happier to be in America and excuse their not caring by finding fault with Israel. If you really want a different (or better) Israel, come on over and get your hands dirty — you can't imagine all the fun you're missing!

Haifa. LAURIE BISBERG

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## PUBLIC DISPLAY OF REGISTER OF VOTERS FOR THE 11th KNESSET

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